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## EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH ALVARO CUNHAL



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# EDITORIAL NOTES



## SOUTH AFRICA UNDER SIEGE

With every passing day it is becoming clearer that the April 25 coup in Portugal last year, followed by the new Government's declaration on decolonisation, the Portuguese withdrawal from Guinea-Bissau and the installation of an interim Frelimo-dominated government in Mozambique with the promise of total independence in June 1975 — all these events have made an impact on southern Africa which has significantly altered the relationships between the countries and the peoples of the area.

The forces of imperialism and racism in southern Africa and Europe, indeed in the whole world, have suffered a tremendous setback. The fascist Caetano regime has been smashed, Guinea Bissau totally freed and seated in the United Nations, Mozambique and Angola set on the road to independence. Whatever happens now, these tremendous gains by the resistance movements of Europe and Africa can never be wiped

out. The power of the oppressed peoples when led by organised and disciplined parties and using the correct strategy and tactics has once again been convincingly demonstrated.

What happened in Korea and Vietnam — the defeat of the world's strongest imperialist power by peoples they had previously dismissed contemptuously as "gooks" — has now happened in Africa as well. How many times have we heard the racist militarists and mercenaries dismiss the Africans as incapable of organising, planning and fighting like the Vietnamese people? How many times has our enemy claimed that the black man is no match for him?

Yet in Mozambique, a few thousand Frelimo guerrillas, rooted in the people for whose emancipation they fought, overcame the 60,000-strong Portuguese army, backed by South Africa and Rhodesia as well as the whole NATO establishment. The 500-year-old Portuguese empire in Africa, which Caetano boasted would last for ever, has been smashed. It took ten years of bitter struggle and sacrifice by the freedom fighters in Mozambique, 11 years in Guinea Bissau, 13 years in Angola. The fight is not yet over, but the vision, faith, courage and determination of the resistance movements has been vindicated.

The events in Portugal and Africa have also vindicated once again Marxist thinking and approach on the relationship between the national struggle of the oppressed peoples in the colonial territories and the struggle of the working class movement against capitalism in the metropolitan countries. It is no accident that the coup in Portugal made possible, and in turn was made possible by the victories of the freedom fighters in Africa. Let us not ask which came first, the hen or the egg, for revolution is not a terminal event but one stage or process in a whole chain of social development. Nor let us forget the equally significant fact that the changes in both Portugal and her African colonies were brought about with the moral and material support of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, the countries of independent Africa headed by the Organisation of African Unity, newly independent states in Asia and Latin America and indeed the backing of the whole of progressive humanity as reflected in innumerable declarations of the United Nations.

The developments in Portugal, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau therefore cannot be regarded as isolated events, but as an integral part of the whole world-wide struggle against capitalism, imperialism,



neo-colonialism and, in its most extreme form, fascism. Similarly, the consolidation of the revolution in all these territories cannot be brought about in isolation, but only by maintaining and strengthening the web of national and international relationships which brought about victory in the first place. Any failure to preserve the unity of the forces which made these tremendous advances possible can only open the way for the forces of the counter-revolution.

### **REACTION WILL FIGHT BACK**

For let there be no mistake about it — the forces of reaction both in Africa and in the outside world will spare no effort to recover lost ground. Just as in Chile the victory of Salvador Allende was followed by a multiplication of the efforts of the enemy of Popular Unity to bring him down, so in Portugal and Africa attempts will be made to reverse the advances that were made in 1974. Already, at the time of writing, two right-wing attempts to break the unity of the armed forces movement and the people in Portugal have been broken, resulting in the resignation of Spínola. But still the fight goes on. Welcoming Spínola's resignation, the Communist Party general secretary Alvaro Cunhal said Portuguese reactionaries had tried to stage a coup to secure the liquidation of democratic freedoms and the establishment of a military dictatorship. Comrade Cunhal stressed that two factors had played a major role in defeating the reactionaries — the one was the people's movement, the other was the Armed Forces Movement. In the course of five months this movement had demonstrated its fidelity to the people, he said, stressing that the unity of the MAF and the people's organisations had to be deepened and strengthened if freedom in Portugal was to survive.

We can well imagine that the Portuguese reactionaries, assisted by the CIA and other agencies in the capitalist world, will not cease their attempts to turn the clock back in Portugal, and intervention by the extreme right wing is always a possibility until such time as the basis of right-wing power and influence in Portugal has been utterly destroyed.

This is not an internal problem for the Portuguese alone. On the further development of the progressive forces in Portugal will partly

depend also the process of decolonisation in Africa. In Mozambique, right wing attempts to frustrate liberation and declare some sort of UDI have been defeated up to the time of writing by the Portuguese army and Frelimo forces, often acting together. Exercising power in Mozambique is an interim Government composed partly of Frelimo nominees and partly of nominees of the Armed Forces Movement, with a Frelimo majority and Frelimo's Joaquim Chissano as Premier. Mozambique is due to become completely independent in June 1975, but the mere fact that Frelimo has agreed to this interim government underlines the necessity for joint Frelimo-Portuguese co-operation in establishing the conditions for independence. The ultimate liberation of the Mozambique people is certain, but if the new regime in Portugal were to collapse for any reason, the task of Frelimo would be made much more difficult. The situation in Angola, where representatives of the liberation movement are not yet in power at any level, is even more complicated. The reactionary forces in Angola as well as the imperialist powers and the multi-national companies which exploit Angola's resources are already promoting splits in the liberation movement to further their own ends.

UNITA's "Dr Jonas Savimbi, fast emerging as a champion of white interests in Angola, has launched an intense political campaign against the MPLA and FNLA guerrillas", reported the *Star* on September 21, 1974. A week later the *Star* reported: "The white-dominated United Front for Angola (FUA) has challenged the military junta here (in Luanda) to state squarely whether white parties will have a say in the territory's political future or whether only the guerrilla movements will be consulted".

But whereas the guerrilla movements were not yet in the Angolan government, FUA leader Falcao had already been installed as "deputy secretary"—one of four senior posts acting as a link between the Cabinet and the ruling junta. Attempts are also being made to split oil-rich Cabinda from Angola, and the South African press has suddenly discovered the existence of a number of Cabindan independence movements which are being placed in the field in opposition to MPLA. Angola is the richest of the Portuguese territories in Africa, and a tremendous prize for the various imperialist forces who are trying to snatch it out of the hands of the freedom fighters.

Desperately anxious about the whole situation is Vorster's fascist South



African republic. A glance at the map will show that the collapse of Angola and Mozambique has left the Republic dangerously exposed. With Angola independent, Namibia would become almost totally surrounded by "hostile" territory, with 80 per cent of its whole border open to guerrillas. An independent Mozambique would abut on the whole of the Eastern Transvaal and, in the south, on almost 100 miles of northern Natal — part of what the South African Government calls the KwaZulu Bantustan. At a stroke, the apparently impenetrable buffer areas between South Africa and independent Africa have been removed; the only friendly border South Africa now has is that with Rhodesia, itself now more beleaguered than ever.

The possibility of such a situation arising must certainly have featured in South Africa's contingency plans, but probably not in the form in which it has actually occurred. Vorster often said he knew what to do when his neighbour's house was on fire, but now the house doesn't belong to his fascist neighbour any more, and the present occupant doesn't want his help. Had Caetano called for South African troops to help put down Frelimo, Vorster would have responded without any hesitation. Clandestinely, South African men and weaponry were already at Caetano's disposal in Mozambique and Angola. But once Caetano fell, the opportunity for open South African intervention was severely restricted, if not totally eliminated.

## **MILITARY METHODS**

South Africa's first reaction has been to look to her own defences and strengthen the laager. The military budget for 1974-75 announced in the House of Assembly in August has been boosted to over R700 million, compared with R480 million for 1973-74, which in turn was R137 million more than the year before. The allocation of funds to the various sections of the South African forces also indicates that South Africa needs her fire-power to deal, not with the alleged Soviet threat in the Indian Ocean, but with black revolt in Southern Africa itself. Whereas expenditure on maritime defence has been increased from R28 million to R56 million, the cost of landward defence has increased from R161 million to R293 million. The biggest single increase is in armaments, from R117 million to R311 million.



South Africa's Chief of Counter-Insurgency Loxton acknowledged that "changing developments in the Portuguese African territories vitally affect the Republic's defence system", and said the first task was to cement the South African "police forces" with the Rhodesian security forces and to keep their morale high. But both Rhodesia and South Africa suffer from manpower problems. They would love to keep their armed forces all-white, but there are simply not enough whites to go round. Loxton is reported to have played a major part in getting Africans into the police force and is said to be a strong supporter of the policy of promoting non-whites to commissioned ranks. One of the measures which has been taken to keep morale high has been to increase salaries for permanent force soldiers, sailors and airmen, while allowances for Citizen Force and Commandos were also raised.

South African Defence Minister Botha has also gone on record as saying: "I believe the South African Defence Force has a place not only for the whites of our country but that the Defence Force can make a contribution in giving the Coloured people of our country their share in the maintenance of the military security of South Africa. We are working on this. I believe that the Defence Force can give the Indian community an opportunity to help assure the safety of our country and we are also working on this."

Botha also said he believed that the Defence Force must "with gradual, thorough training enable our black governments to make their contribution in the maintenance of orderly government, development and progress. To train South African Defence Force members from Bantu homelands is a long and tedious task. I hope that our Bantu, our black governments and black peoples will also make their contribution to stabilising this situation of peace and safety." Elaborating on this, the Chief of Army Staff (Operational) announced that the Defence Force is to arm black troops for guard duties. They would also be trained as drivers, clerks, storemen and dog handlers. The Defence Force is advertising for black recruits and claims to be receiving about 60 applications a day.

To their shame, Bantustan chiefs Buthelezi and Ntsanwisi have welcomed these schemes. In a press statement last June Buthelezi said: "It has been good to watch this demonstration of loyalty to the police force by our people who are being trained here in the handling of arms . . . . It must be remembered that going to the borders is police duty

which our people are doing as policemen". Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, speaking at an "anti-terrorist" training camp at Maleoskop near Groblersdal last June appealed to the government to give the blacks a stake in South Africa and in particular to let them take part in the defence of the country.

## **FAKE CONCESSIONS**

While the South African Government aims to make its army the biggest and best in all Africa south of the Sahara, and boasts of its ability to take on all black comers, defence chiefs at the same time admit the answer to insurrection is only 20 per cent military, the remaining 80 per cent being political and socio-economic measures to "win the minds and hearts of the people".

But the hearts and minds of the people can only be won by abolishing racial discrimination and giving the black majority equal rights and opportunities. Whatever timid concessions have been announced by Vorster in the wake of the Lisbon coup and the collapse of Angola and Mozambique are all within the framework of Bantustan and apartheid.

Here are some examples:

1. Speaking at the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries in Pretoria in October, Vorster announced what he called "increased powers" for homeland governments. To do what? Allow whites to operate as entrepreneurs in the homelands on a permanent basis.

This, said Vorster, would enable the homeland governments to increase the revenue they obtain from sources within their own territories. He admitted it would not mean that the homeland governments would have more money for development, merely that the percentage of their income obtained from internal and external sources would change. Whereas now only 34 per cent of homeland income came from internal sources and 66 from the South African Government, under the new scheme internal revenue (presumably from increased taxation of the white entrepreneurs) would rise to 74 per cent and the S.A. Government subsidy would be reduced to 26 per cent.



Other "increased powers" for homeland leaders, laid down in the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill introduced by the Government in Parliament last October, are to enable them to take action against organisations "which threaten public safety and good order". This Bill gives the Matanzimas and Buthelezis and even more reactionary homeland leaders the same vicious powers of arrest, detention and banishment without trial as the Government has itself under its security laws.

2. In October 1974 the Government announced that the Masters and Servants Act was to be repealed, and it will no longer be a criminal offence for a worker to leave his job. This sounds like a real concession (there were 22,000 convictions under the Act in 1972), but the practical effect will be restricted, because all labour movement will still be rigidly controlled by the pass laws. Workers will still find themselves tied to their jobs because they cannot seek others.

Here again, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr Janson, said in September that steps would be taken to eliminate "unnecessary arrests" under the pass laws. "Development" now had to take precedence over "separateness", said Janson. But in the next breath he said "this did not mean the Government was in any way deviating from its basic policy of separated development or multi-nationalism".

While admitting the "aid centres" had been a failure, Janson said police raids would have to continue. They were necessary to deal with transgressors such as dagga smugglers and in some cases even took place at the request of the local African authorities.

3. The Government sent an African, Indian and Coloured to act as observers at the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, hoping to bluff the world this showed the South African delegation was multi-racial. The Government also announced in October that black information officers were to be appointed to posts in the South African Information Service in New York, London, Cologne and Paris.

4. The all-Nationalist South West African Legislative Assembly announced in October that it planned to initiate direct negotiations between all population groups on the political future of the territory. It was also announced that there would be "free" elections in Owambo



in January "to clear the decks for a political settlement in South West Africa". There has been "inspired" speculation in the South African press that the Government plans to force a phoney "independence" on Owambo, homeland of half the population of the territory, and perhaps negotiate with Angola for the inclusion in this Bantustan of those elements of the same tribe who live on the other side of the present border.

Just imagine free Angolans deciding voluntarily to include themselves in a South African Bantustan! Not surprisingly, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) has already rejected both the "negotiations" and the so-called "free" election on the grounds that both involve acceptance of ethnic grouping and the destruction of the national integrity of Namibia.

Nevertheless, the fact that the Government takes the trouble to make any gestures at all is a measure of the extent to which the situation in Southern Africa has changed to its disadvantage as a result of the events in Angola and Mozambique. It is to be expected that further and even more far-reaching concessions will be made if the tide continues to flow against South Africa.

But they will be concessions of form, without content. The South African ruling class is capable of adaptation of almost any kind provided the essential basis of white domination, of class and national relationships, remains unchanged. Formulae which have served their purpose, like job reservation, can be discarded provided the gap between black and white is not diminished. In fact, all the indications are that the gap between white and black living standards continues to widen. "Whereas in 1960 white per capita personal income was 13 times that of Africans, by 1970 it was 14 times as high. . . . The White/African wage gap in mining, manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade and the public sector had widened in those years." — *Financial Mail*, September 6, 1974.

## THE WEST BACKS VORSTER

One sphere in which South Africa seems to have gained as a result of the collapse of the Portuguese empire is in securing support from the United States, Britain, France and other pillars of Western capitalism,

who now regard South Africa as their last secure bastion in the sub-continent. The use of the veto to preserve South Africa's membership of the United Nations was the most blatant example.

Typical has been the shameful sell-out of the British Labour Government. At its 1973 conference, the British Labour Party adopted a programme part of which declared: "The next Labour Government will withdraw from all relationships resulting from the Simonstown 'Agreements' and all military exchanges, visits and technical arrangements will be terminated". Yet within months of being returned to office in February 1974, the Labour Government turned its back on its own conference resolution and authorised the holding of joint manoeuvres with the South African navy on a scale bigger than anything seen since the last war. Later in the year a second round of manoeuvres took place — immediately after the return of the Labour Government with an overall majority in the October election.

The world-wide disgusted reaction to this betrayal by the Labour Government has forced Wilson and Co. to back-track somewhat and there has been talk of allowing the Simonstown Agreement to "wither on the vine". It is to be hoped the democratic forces both in and outside Britain will not be satisfied by any compromise dictated by expediency rather than principle, but will step up their pressure until all military links between Britain and South Africa have been permanently severed.

Perhaps even more sinister has been a Johannesburg *Star* report on September 28 that former President Nixon had decided, even before the Lisbon coup, to "relax the isolation of the White Governments of Southern Africa and to ease both economic restrictions and the arms embargo on them".

The *Star* quotes a report by the leading US commentator Tad Szulc published in the American magazine *Esquire* which contains long sections of the actual text of Nixon's policy decisions on southern Africa. Choosing "Option Two" out of five possible options put before him at a National Security Council meeting on December 9, 1969, Nixon decided, inter alia:

"We would maintain public opposition to racial oppression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states. . . . We would be more flexible in our attitude towards the Smith regime."

The policy provided for increased collaboration with South Africa in all fields, including military, and recognition of the illegal Smith



regime in Rhodesia, plus aid to the former Portuguese regimes in Africa, including the supply of equipment "which could serve either military or civilian purposes".

The advantages of the policy, the document noted, included "preservation of the American economic, scientific and strategic interests in the white states and expanded opportunities for profitable trade and investment there".

"Option Two" also recommended "that the US take the public position towards the African insurgent movements of opposing the use of force in racial confrontations but that it continue humanitarian assistance to refugees".

The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the process of decolonisation which has been started in Mozambique and Angola can only have intensified America's determination to play ball with South Africa and Rhodesia, to compensate for the possible "neutralisation" of the former Portuguese territories in the sphere of international alignments.

In July 1974 the US Department of Commerce published figures indicating that in the trade sphere "Policy Two" was paying off, with record importation of US goods by South Africa and the possibility that US exports to South Africa might exceed a record 1,000 million dollars in 1974.

France likewise has increased her co-operation with racist South Africa. The first-ever French-South African naval exercises were conducted in April 1974 and French military aid to and trade with South Africa has been stepped up.

Secret South African diplomacy, backed by publicity and briefing campaigns costing millions of rand, have played a part in bringing about these changes in the Western attitude towards South Africa. In a report published in the House of Assembly last September, the South African Department of Information said it would overlook no "medium, channel or tactics" in its efforts to influence opinion-formers in the Western countries. The *Star* commented: "This tough, new line . . . is seen as virtual confirmation that it is engaged in unconventional or 'undercover' diplomacy abroad."

Secret talks also took place in Washington last year between Dr Connie Mulder, South African Minister of Information, and the then-Vice President of the US, Gerald Ford, now holding the West's top political and military job. Discussions also took place last year between



the Chief of the South African Defence Force, Admiral H.H. Biermann, and top officials at the Pentagon.

Following these talks, the *Star* commented on August 10: "It is clear that South Africa has closer links with Mr Ford than (with) any previous American President." And Admiral Biermann said in June that "South Africa's Defence Force is prepared to meet any challenge that may emerge from Mozambique and Angola."

We say: "Hands off Mozambique and Angola."

Clearly the incorporation of South Africa within the "defence" framework of the Western imperialist powers represents a danger, not only to the oppressed peoples of South Africa fighting for their liberation, but also to all the independent states of Africa fighting to free themselves from the remaining shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Without a people's South Africa, the freedom of all Africa is threatened. The destruction of the apartheid regime in South Africa is in the interests of black people everywhere. There can be no peaceful coexistence with fascist South Africa, which has not abandoned its aim of dominating the entire continent through the deployment of its political, economic and, if necessary, military power.

From this point of view we can only deplore the suggestions which have been voiced in some quarters that in view of Vorster's new mood of "reasonableness", it might be polite to revive the Lusaka manifesto and attempt to reach a "peaceful" agreement with South Africa. We can only remind the world that Vorster's policy, like that of Spinoza, is one of "blood and smiles". At the very moment that Vorster was leading the world to expect some radical concessions, his security police were launching a new wave of arrests against the democratic forces in South Africa, and the sounds of torture are once more being heard from South African prison cells. There can be no compromise with the fascist regime in South Africa, no bargain with white supremacy and apartheid. Vorster himself has reassured his followers that in "white" South Africa there will be no real concessions and no black will ever be allowed to sit in the white Parliament. The apartheid structure must be smashed completely before the possibility of a new life will open up.

Indeed, this is not a time for retreat and compromise, but a time to step up the attack on all fronts against apartheid. Our people demand it. Far more important than the reactions of fright which the collapse

of Portuguese colonialism has elicited from the racists and imperialists is the uplift which has been given to the liberation forces everywhere. At a stroke the myth of white supremacy in southern Africa has been destroyed, a colonial empire brought to the brink of destruction. The white man boss has been shown to have feet of clay. The policy of armed struggle against an intransigent enemy has been triumphantly vindicated.

In every African heart is now firmly planted the knowledge that it was the struggle of Frelimo, PAIGC and MPLA which helped to break the Caetano regime. Guinea-Bissau has won independence; in Mozambique the men who a year ago were being hunted in the forests as "terrorists" are now part of the government of their country, helping to shape the independence which is coming. The long years of struggle and sacrifice, the suffering of black men, women and children wanting only to be free, have been crowned with victory.

We South Africans salute our brothers and sisters and congratulate them on their magnificent achievement; and we pledge to follow their example and not to rest until we, too, have rid ourselves of our oppressors and destroyed the apartheid colonialism in our country, last bastion of imperialism and racism in Africa.

We know we have a tough nut to crack. Our imperialist masters and their mercenaries do not come from overseas, from some metropolitan country to which they can return, but were born here in our land and live side by side with us. The South African equivalent of Lisbon is Pretoria. We have no Armed Forces Movement and do not expect one.

But millions who doubted that change would ever come to South Africa, who thought the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis, backed by their Western allies, was indestructible, now know better. They know that steady, determined, unyielding opposition and resistance to apartheid, organised and disciplined, based on unlimited faith in the justice of their cause and backed by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, must triumph in the end.

The Congress Alliance and the Communist Party took their stand long ago, and are still carrying on the fight. But now the masses of our people have been convinced our struggle is not futile, and are showing their readiness to join us.

Writing in the *Star* last October, a Rhodesian African journalist Justin Nyoka wrote:



“What the situation in Mozambique has done is to unveil a hitherto concealed impatience among black youths in Rhodesian townships with their present rulers. ‘Only an armed struggle is the answer to the problem here and nothing else will work’, a group of black University of Rhodesia students chorused the other day.

“It is among these young people that the professed non-violent policies of Bishop Muzorewa’s ANC are being regarded as a farce. With massive unemployment for black school-leavers, many feel that they should lay down their lives for a cause they believe to be right.

“And what is striking is that young blacks are talking about this quite openly.”

And not only talking, acting. A recent trial revealed that recruiting for the guerrilla forces is taking place quite openly in Salisbury’s Harare township.

In South Africa, too, a new spirit is abroad amongst the black people – a spirit of resistance and defiance, which led to the first openly political demonstrations amongst black students in Natal and the Transvaal for some time, to declarations of solidarity with and support for Frelimo in Mozambique. The rector of Turfloop, Professor J.L. Boshoff, told the *Star* that the situation at the University of the North was “extremely serious” because the black academic staff has allied itself with the students. A Soweto headmaster confirmed that high school pupils have “anti-white” attitudes. The Coloured University of the Western Cape experienced a similar upsurge in 1973.

Nor is it only the students who are on the march. In the last few years, hundreds of thousands of black workers have defied police intimidation and the security laws to strike for higher wages and better conditions. In Namibia thousands of Africans have crossed the Angolan border in recent months to join the freedom fighters.

Vorster has immediately resorted to terror and the Terrorism Act in an attempt to nip this renewed surge of resistance in the bud. Political trials, savage sentences may be in the offing. In Rhodesia the Smith racists are shooting and killing women and children and hanging teenagers in their desperation to halt the people’s offensive.

Our call to the South African people is: resist and fight! Never submit to apartheid, Bantustans and poverty! Never surrender in your minds!

The fight must be waged with renewed vigour on every front, not



only in the veld and forests with guns, but in the factories and townships, with strikes and demonstrations. Use every opportunity to speak to and influence other people. Reject the collaborators!

**APARTHEID IS NOT FOREVER!**

**THE ROAD TO FREEDOM LIES THROUGH STRUGGLE!**

## **THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION**

In 1972, the Vorster government appointed what was then a Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the “objects, organisation, activities, financing and related matters” of four bodies which had become something of a sore in its side — the National Union of South African Students, the Institute of Race Relations, the University Christian Movement, and the Christian Institute of South Africa. The Select Committee, after a somewhat uneven course, became a Commission, popularly called the Schlebusch Commission after its eventual chairman — an undistinguished Nationalist Party hack; and in mid 1973 it recommended its own elevation to “. . . a permanent institution to deal with these matters . . .”, a homespun version of the UN-American Activities Committee of ill fame.

The first section of this Commission’s labours have finally produced a report on the affairs of NUSAS, so faithfully echoing all the tub-thumping denunciations of that body which have been made over the past ten years from Nationalist Party electioneering platforms that the years of pseudo-investigation seem almost to have produced nothing that had not been said before — with as little proof. NUSAS it seems was . . . “subverting the state by encouraging arms and economic boycotts”. Its effort to secure raised wages for black workers “. . . is really a means to . . . overthrow the existing order in South Africa and to replace it with an anti-capitalistic system which has sometimes been described as black socialism”. Top NUSAS leaders were “. . . Quislings” and maintain links with . . . “The International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) and World University Service (WUS), both of which had close links with terrorist organisations . . .” And so on.

The report, in fact, is more revealing of the state of paranoia of the ruling Nationalist Party minority than of anything else. They are surrounded by “enemies” and “subversion”. Communists and com-

munism lie hidden in every movement, every cause. Even the West German author Gunter Grass becomes a "Marxist Leninist" suspect in the fevered Schlebusch imaginings; and the phrase "The Great Divide" in an article by NUSAS President Curtis becomes "proof" of Communism, because the same phrase has been used as a sub-title in our banned journal, the *African Communist*.

"Within a single short page of the African Communist there were six descriptions of conditions in South Africa, all six of which were repeated a few months later although worded slightly differently, in a single NUSAS pamphlet." Which, since both are describing the same country, could only be surprising to the bone-heads on the Commission. Guilt by association of phrase is not a new phenomenon, even in South Africa. But it has not been much in evidence since a prosecution "expert", Professor Murray, proved himself to be a communist by identifying (during the 1960 Treason Trial) one of his own forgotten sentences as "... straight from the shoulder communism."

Even more sinister "evidence" is adduced by the Commission. The NUSAS members campaigning for better wages for black workers in Natal published a broadsheet titled "The Industrial Worker" in the English language version, translated to "Isisebenzi" in the Zulu version. "Before being banned" the Commission solemnly recalls, "the South African Communist Party also distributed a newspaper . . . called *Umsebenzi*". True. The newspaper perished during an inner party crisis in 1938 — repeat 1938 — and has never reappeared.

There is some scope for comedy in the absurdities of these pygmy McCarthys, charging the communist windmills without even the semblance of chivalry of a Don Quixote. But like most South African humour it tends to be of the black comedy type. The report of the Schlebusch commission, ludicrous as it is, has yet provided the "justification" for the Government to ban and proscribe a whole group of young and promising democrats from open political life; it has been used as a basis to curtail the functioning of a number of serious anti-government and anti-racial bodies; it has provided the excuse for further interference with the collection and distribution of aid to the families of political prisoners; and it has frightened many a former well-meaning liberal into silence.

The commission and its commissioners may well be mad. But they are not harmless; mad dogs seldom are. They infect everyone they bite

with their own disease. And the only remedy of which we have yet heard is to destroy them all before they sink their teeth in again.

## **FRATERNAL GREETINGS**

We learn from comrade Ali Yata, general secretary of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism, that the recognition of the legality of the Party has been enthusiastically received in the ranks of the working class, and among Moroccan progressives and patriots, who recognise in the PPS the party of the revolutionary vanguard in which they place their trust.

We send our heartiest congratulations to our Moroccan comrades, and express our conviction that the bonds of fraternity between our two parties, and the solidarity between our working peoples, will be strengthened in the struggle for socialism, national liberation and peace, and against colonialism, capitalism and imperialism.

May we take this opportunity also to express our joy at the legal reconstitution of the Communist Parties of Greece and Portugal, now both able to function openly after decades of repression and persecution at the hands of the fascist regimes of their respective countries.

We would also draw the attention of our readers to the hopeful developments in the Philippines, where events have taken a positive and progressive turn as described by a reader in a letter to the *African Communist* printed in this issue.

We are convinced that the cause of democracy, socialism and peace in all these countries, and indeed in the whole world, will be immensely strengthened by the operations of our comrades, and we wish them every success in their future work.



# **No compromise with White Supremacy**

**STATEMENT BY THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY**

No compromise with white supremacy! Freedom NOW! Rally behind the banner of our liberation front headed by the African National Congress! This must be our guide more than ever before. Our brothers dealt a crushing blow to Portuguese colonialism and white minority rule in Southern Africa. Their great victories have opened up new vistas of struggle against the Vorster racist regime.

White South Africa is no longer surrounded by a protective barrier of States hostile to the liberation forces. In addition the victory of our brother freedom fighters has had a profound effect on the morale of our own people for whom the lesson rings out loud and clear: A people which is organised and uses its collective strength in mass resistance, a people whose sons and daughters are ready to sacrifice their very lives in the fight to restore their country to its rightful owners, a people who together say "No" to the shame and humiliation of being dominated —

such a people will win. Military force, however powerful, cannot defeat a just struggle against oppression and exploitation. It was proved in Vietnam. It is being proved once again in the former Portuguese colonies.

## **THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IS INDIVISIBLE**

The blows for freedom which have been struck there are also blows for our own freedom. It shows once again that the struggle for freedom is indivisible.

The fall of fascism in Portugal was closely linked with the sacrifice and victorious struggle of the peoples in the African colonies. But the speed of the victory of the liberation armies was also linked with the sacrifice and victorious struggle of the Portuguese revolutionary movement led, without a moment of surrender, by the Communist Party of Portugal.

Heightened guerrilla activity in Zimbabwe was made more possible by the growth of FRELIMO-liberated territory. The capacity of Smith to help Caetano in his fight against the Mozambican People's Army was lessened by the growing armed struggle inside Zimbabwe.

The victories of the people's forces in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism have greatly strengthened the potential of a revolutionary advance against the racist regime in our own country, South Africa. This has made it more difficult for Vorster to risk an adventure beyond his borders because he knows that the overwhelming majority of our oppressed people will not tolerate it and that if he attempts it they will come to the aid of their brothers in the other African countries.

In supporting the struggle against the colonial and minority regimes, independent Africa has not only made possible a speedier victory by the liberation forces but has also helped to advance its own struggle for independence. The future of our Continent's independent states, including the newly liberated Portuguese colonies, remains in peril so long as white rule remains supreme in South Africa. The destruction of the apartheid regime is, therefore, not only in the vital interests of the black majority in South Africa but also in the direct interests of all the people in Africa.

Beyond our continent too, the indivisibility of the freedom struggle

is a vital reality. The changes which were heralded by the great October Socialist revolution in Russia made an immeasurable contribution to the successes of the struggle against colonialism which the world has witnessed in the last few decades. And, in turn, the survival and growing strength of the Socialist sector in the world have been more assured by the successful anti-imperialist freedom struggles of the colonial people and the democratic forces throughout the world.

The victory of the freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies is a blow not only against Portuguese colonialism but also against world imperialism. For our oppressed masses, however, its impact is more direct, immediate and far-reaching.

### **FEAR SPREAD AMONGST THE ENEMY**

Now, with the impressive gains of our comrades-in-arms in the Portuguese colonies, South Africa's ruling class feels itself more threatened than ever. These gains have come at a time when inside our own country the past few years have seen a significant upsurge in mass activity, a growing mood of national assertiveness, an increased use of the strike weapon by the working class, resistance to forced resettlement, student militancy and a growing demand for majority rule over the whole of South Africa. Without underestimating the strength of our enemy and its capacity to find and impose "solutions" which will buy time for white supremacy, there are signs that its confidence and cohesiveness are becoming less assured.

Despite its sophisticated reactions so far to the prospects of a FRELIMO Government on its borders, the mood in the white establishment is one of noticeable uncertainty and apprehension. The reality of people's rule imposed by revolutionary armed struggle is no longer a distant image; it is staring them in the face on the Mozambique border. Sooner or later, in the west, Namibia will also share a border with independent Angola. South Africa's vital ally, Caetano, is no more and the remaining partner in the unholy alliance—Smith—is in real danger of being isolated and destroyed. Indeed the signs are there that Pretoria is being forced to tolerate an "ordered retreat" from Zimbabwe. And in Namibia it is trying to sell to a suspicious world its new version of so-called self-government.



There is a growing recognition by the regime that it can no longer assure its future solely on all-white resources and all-white battalions as it has done for 300 years. It has come up against the stark reality that without black collaboration both inside and outside the country, it faces early defeat. That is why its massive build-up of military reserves incorporates for the first time a growing proportion of black mercenaries. That is why its military strategists are warning that the coming struggle cannot be won by South Africa's rulers by purely military means, but rather by "social reform" and "winning the hearts and the minds of the people". That is why more and more substance is being given to the Bantustan deception. These new approaches are dictated not by strength but by a realisation that the old methods can, in the long run, no longer guarantee the survival of white supremacy.

Sensing its difficulties and in fear of a revolutionary break-through, the Vorster regime in alliance with the rest of the imperialist world, is manoeuvring and plotting to blunt the growing militancy of the forces ranged against it. Externally South Africa has already begun an offensive at the United Nations and elsewhere, to hoodwink the world and, particularly, independent Africa about the true character of apartheid and its neo-colonial aims both inside and outside South Africa. It can be expected more and more to use its economic strength and its military potential to weaken the resolve of independent Africa to isolate South Africa and to back up its liberation forces. Internally old schemes are being given a fresh coat of paint and new ones are being worked out to undermine the unity of the black people and to gain black collaboration for the perpetuation of white domination.

## **NO CRUMBS FROM THE RACISTS**

Now more than ever before we must be on our guard against the attempts to divert the growing revolutionary energies away from the real issues.

Those in South Africa, like most of the Bantustan leaders, who have no faith in the power of the mass struggle, argue that in the interests of the people they are forced to accept the compromise of a divided South Africa. They have discouraged revolutionary militancy because they claim that there is no realistic alternative to accepting the white

man's crumbs. Some of them make common cause with the racist regime in attempting to break down the international isolation of South Africa. They join with Vorster in calling our brave freedom fighters "terrorists" and try to mobilise their people against them. To the mass of the oppressed their timidity and their philosophy of despair which trap them into playing the white man's game now seem more hollow and more unacceptable than ever before. The Portuguese imperialists also tried to trick the people in their colonies into accepting compromises with high-sounding names whose only purpose, like the Bantustans, was to maintain their rule with black collaboration. This policy which the late comrade Cabral called a policy of "blood and smiles" did not deceive the liberation forces who fought through to destroy Portuguese colonialism and those who supported it.

We must not be tricked into accepting dummy institutions, empty reforms and other compromises in place of real people's power. Majority rule NOW is on the agenda of struggle. There can be no compromise with white supremacy. New opportunities are opening up. It is in the power of the people to turn the enemy's fear into a panic and its panic into a headlong retreat. This we can do through united action with courage and conviction. We know that the racist minority will not surrender its control without a violent struggle. Laying the basis for such a struggle and demonstrating a capacity to hit the enemy on his own ground, remains in the forefront of the tasks of the whole national liberation movement. Organised action related to the issues most affecting the people in the course of which they will feel their strength and gain more and more confidence, are an essential part of the immediate perspectives of struggle.

## **THE PEOPLE MUST ACT**

The black working class, the most revolutionary force for change, together with the people on the land, the youth and the professional classes amongst the oppressed, must act in unity to reject and resist white domination in all its forms. Fight for the right to strike and the right to have independent trade union organisation! Fight the attempts to uproot our people and to send them into the wasteland of the reserves! Reject Bantustans and all other dummy institutions and lay

claim to the whole of our land! Fight for the immediate release of the true leaders of the people from Robben Island and the other prisons! Defeat all attempts to attack the independence of our brothers in the newly independent territories! Above all, the fight for majority rule over the whole of South Africa and people's control of all its wealth are the immediate targets of all true patriots and revolutionaries.

All classes and groups amongst the oppressed Coloured and Indian communities must act to reject the fraudulent compromises which they are offered and thwart the attempt to divide them from their black brothers with whom they must march together to achieve total liberation.

Those white democrats who unconditionally accept a majority-ruled South Africa, not only in words, but also in deed, will be acting in the long-term interests of all the people and will find an honoured place in the liberation struggle.

The key to liberation is unity, organisation and revolutionary action. Our national liberation front headed by the mass organisation of the most exploited and oppressed section of our people – the ANC – stands where it has always stood – in the forefront of the freedom struggle. It will lead all the oppressed people of our land in inevitable triumph against the racist state. The inspiring victories of our brothers in Mozambique and elsewhere have helped to create more favourable conditions for a real revolutionary advance in our own country. Now is the time to go forward on every front!

**NO COMPROMISE WITH WHITE SUPREMACY! FORWARD TO COMPLETE PEOPLE'S POWER!**



# INTERVIEW WITH ALVARO CUNHAL

GENERAL SECRETARY, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

by Sol Dubula

## *\*Introduction*

If symbols have meaning then the venue for my interview with comrade Alvaro Cunhal in itself tells a story.

The Portuguese Communist Party offices in which we were seated were Fascist Legion headquarters before the events of April 1974. Its walls which used to display portraits of Salazar are now covered with pictures and posters of the new Portugal. These celebrate workers' heroes in the struggle against fascism, exhort the Portuguese people to consolidate the democratic gains of April, express solidarity with the Armed Forces Movement, call for vigilance in the face of the continuing plots of reaction and proclaim the PCP as the Party of socialism. They

*\*The historical material in these introductory remarks was taken mainly from "50 years of Communist Party action." Avante! 24 May 1974.*

greet the 57th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and emphasise the principles of international solidarity. The walls also display prominently posters of the liberation movements in the colonies – FRELIMO, the PAIGC and MPLA – and pictures of their leaders Machel, Cabral and Neto.

Cunhal's appearance – grey-haired, but with a look of youth – tells little of the hard road which he and his comrades had travelled for so many decades. Whilst a student of law in Lisbon University he joined the PCP in 1931 at the age of 17 and soon became the leader of the Young Communist League. He went to Spain during the Civil War. On return he was arrested by PIDE and although brutally tortured, he remained silent. He was released and rearrested in 1940 when he spent a further year in prison. In 1949 he was again jailed by the regime, this time for eleven years, eight of which he spent in solitary confinement. Comrade Cunhal and a number of other leaders of the Party escaped from the Peniche military prison in 1960. In 1961 he was elected General Secretary of the PCP and now represents it in the Provisional Government

## **CLEAR SIGNPOSTS**

In 1964 the PCP published clandestinely comrade Cunhal's book *The Road to Victory* based on his report to the Central Committee. Since then dramatic advances have been made in Portugal. But it is clear from the contents of the book that the Portuguese people did not stumble on the road to victory by an accident of history and that the signposts were clearly planted by the Party long before the April events.

The book discusses the possibility of army action against fascism and suggests that the moment to act may be decided from a military point of view, but its general timing could well be connected with the atmosphere created by the masses. The growing discontent in the army, which was to become a major factor was, in the Portuguese case, a sign of the general political radicalisation of the Portuguese people.

In May 1970, the PCP had already sensed the growing crisis of fascism and called for a new all-round offensive against it. It emphasised the need to win positions in the military establishments so as to carry the regime's crisis deeper, develop the fight against the colonial wars and create conditions for an armed uprising of the whole people "which

presupposes the participation and neutralisation of a considerable proportion of the armed forces in view of the militarist nature of the State.”

When the April events occurred they found the Portuguese working class well-organised. It moved with speed and in unison to consolidate the gains and has since then maintained its vigilance against the continuing counter-revolutionary plots of reaction. In close alliance with the Armed Forces Movement and other democratic groups, it blockaded the whole of Lisbon against the Spínola-inspired movement of the so-called “silent majority” and defeated this most sinister attempt by reaction to put the clock back.

In acting as they did the Portuguese working class were led by a Party which had been with them from the first years of fascism. The PCP was formed in 1921. It was illegalised in 1927 and within a short time its organisation was destroyed or dissolved by fascist repression. It emerged once again as a clandestine Party in 1929 when its total registered membership had dropped to 29. It started publishing its underground organ *Avante!* in 1931 and began establishing its roots in the trade unions and other mass organisations. It was again severely decimated by a new wave of repression in the late ‘30’s and *Avante!* was unable to publish for two years. The infiltration of agents provocateur by PIDE resulted in the arrest, between 1936-39, of almost all the members of the PCP leadership.

In 1940-41 there was a complete reorganisation and *Avante!* once again circulated in the underground; this time without a break to the present day. Mistaken conspiratorial methods resulted in a further destruction of leadership levels in 1942. Learning from their previous lessons new underground organisational techniques were introduced and by 1943 the PCP was able to hold its first underground conference at which comrade Cunhal presented the main report. In the years 1949-52 the Party again suffered from an intense offensive of the fascist repression and this led to the arrest of comrade Cunhal and many other leaders. In 1962 the regime once more scored important successes against the Party with wholesale arrests and assassinations. The new resurgence lasted from 1962 to 1967 and the PCP continued to be in the forefront of the political and economic battles which were growing in intensity against the background of the crisis which was made more severe for the fascist regime by the colonial wars.



Here then was a Party which never surrendered its historic mission. It had many "Rivonias" but its persistence and heroism in the face of repeated assaults by one of the most experienced fascist regimes never flagged. The history of this Party is living proof of the unconquerable spirit of true proletarian organisation. It is an inspiration to movements like our own which still battle on against South Africa's brand of racist, fascist repression.

Comrade Cunhal emphasises the PCP's fidelity to the principles of internationalism. Nowhere is this more underlined than in the principled stand which the Party took on the colonial wars and the struggles of the national liberation movement. Even before the PCP was formed Portuguese socialists were already making revolutionary propaganda in Mozambique. Before the guerilla wars started the 1957 Fifth Congress of the PCP issued a call for the immediate independence of the colonies and pledged all assistance to the liberation movements. When the fighting began the Party, in 1961, again launched an active campaign in support of the freedom fighters. It called for desertion by the armed forces, a refusal to fight and for fraternisation with the guerillas. And now by its presence in the Provisional Government and its campaigns amongst the Portuguese people, it has stood in the way of those forces in Portugal who have been attempting to back-pedal on the policy of swift decolonisation.

The coming period in Portugal is a crucial one and, although some battles have been won, the final victory is still to come. When it does it will be a tribute to a Party which, inspired by Marxism and Leninism, never for one moment wavered in its opposition to the fascist terror and its absolute conviction that the workers' cause will eventually triumph.

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**Sol Dubula:** How would you, in general, characterise the more immediate causes of the April events?

**Alvaro Cunhal:** The revolutionary process in every country has special features and characteristics. But there are also general laws. One of the laws is that in a state which is highly centralised and has militaristic features, a successful revolution is difficult, if not impossible, without

the participation of a considerable part of the armed forces and the neutralisation of other important levels of the state apparatus.

In the Portuguese case the democratic revolution had its roots in a wide mass movement. On April 25 1974, it took the form of a military uprising which ended the dictatorship. And on this same day the movement of the people joined more directly with the military movement. There was in fact a dynamic connection of the mass movement with all aspects of the process.

In 1964 we believed that events would probably take the form of an armed uprising of the people. There were intervening circumstances. Amongst the most important were the colonial wars and their effects on the different strata of our population. This in the end gave shape to the form of our democratic revolution.

**Dubula:** In general the army acts to avoid rather than to advance a revolution. We have seen this in Greece, Chile, parts of Africa and elsewhere. In the case of Portugal your Party in the early 60's talked about the active participation of the armed forces as being essential to the overthrow of fascism, even though these very armed forces were for so long a vital instrument of the fascist dictatorship. What special features made it possible for the armed forces to take these democratic initiatives against fascism?

**Cunhal:** The Fascist dictatorship had led our country in the direction of a number of cul de sacs; in the economic, political and diplomatic fields and in the colonial wars. It was totally unable to solve these national problems. The colonial wars swallowed up more than 40% of the budget.

These policies stimulated not only a wide mass movement amongst our people generally, but also created discontent amongst sections of the ruling class. This discontent and the activities of the popular movement had an influence and impact on the armed forces themselves. This was both at the level of the higher ranks which expressed the worries of the ruling class and the middle and lower ranks who expressed the aspirations of the mass of our people.

On April 25 these two sections of the armed forces converged and took concerted action. This explains the relative ease of the victory on that day as a result of an action which was supported by a large majority of the different ranks of the army.

**Dubula:** There is a long tradition of revolutionary work within the armed



forces, going back to the early 30's when your party had already begun to create an organised revolutionary presence within the army and navy. Could you deal briefly with the history of various opposition tendencies within the armed forces and the character of the Armed Forces Movement itself?

**Cunhal:** Between 1926 and 1934 there were a number of military conspiracies by those Republican elements which were still part of the Army at the time of the fascist coup of 1926. They believed that the fascist dictatorship could be ended with a traditional type of putsch. Already on February 7, 1927 there occurred a military and popular uprising in Lisbon and Oporto which came close to achieving the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

After that were other attempts to organise revolutionary actions influenced by Republican Liberal tendencies. But the fascists gradually eliminated these tendencies from the armed forces, wiped out the democratic elements, and by the time of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) the fascists had already succeeded in creating cadres of fascist officers whom it trusted entirely. After that there were still a number of military attempts against the regime, but they were all easily detected and smashed.

In regard to revolutionary work within the armed forces to which you refer, there was already a strong organisation of the PCP within the Navy and Army in the 30's known as ORA (Revolutionary Organisation of the Navy) and ORE (Revolutionary Organisation of the Army). These organisations were constituted by ratings and ordinary soldiers. In 1936 there was a rising in the navy which was crushed. Dozens of ratings were sent to concentration camps where some of them died. But in the following years the military organisation of the PCP within the armed forces was practically liquidated. It is only after 1945 that once again some revolutionary positions were conquered inside the armed forces. But it is only after 1961 – at the beginning of the guerilla wars in the colonies – that we saw the emergence of an ample movement within the armed forces centred mainly on opposition to the colonial wars.

It is necessary to emphasise that the Armed Forces Movement which was, in the end, entrusted with the glorious task of putting an end to fascism, has features which make it fundamentally different from the old type of Putsch or Coup organisations.



The Armed Forces Movement made its appearance immediately as a movement with democratic forms of organisation and discussion and it was influenced by the experience of the workers and democratic movement of the Portuguese people.

In the struggle against fascism there had been created very flexible forms of organising mass work which included mass meetings with workers in factories and in the trade unions (the fascist Sindicatos), semi-legal and illegal actions of the democratic movement.

The Movement of the Armed Forces learnt from these experiences. The meetings of the officers were not just meetings of a handful of conspirators. They were larger meetings discussing political problems. And in 1973 and in the last months before April 1974, these meetings became more frequent and larger. Officers in the Army and Navy were openly discussing the need for an intervention of the armed forces to put an end to the political crisis in Portugal. This democratic form of action distinguishes this activity from earlier conspiratorial putsch or coup organisations. This helps to explain the very strong roots of the Armed Forces Movement throughout the Portuguese armed forces, and the capacity it showed to mobilise support for the democratic revolution. **Dubula:** Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, described the events in Portugal and the colonies as the "simultaneous liberation of two peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism. Neither of us liberated the other, it was mutual liberation through a parallel struggle." Could you comment on this?

**Cunhal:** The Portuguese democratic revolution and the April 25 victories owe a great deal to the National Liberation struggle in the colonies.

The struggles of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea were a very important contribution to the development of the popular democratic struggle up to April 25 and the advances which followed it. We also believe that the struggle of the Portuguese people before and after April 25 contributed to the independence struggles of the people that had for so long been dominated by Portuguese colonialism.

It is a cause for extraordinary joy that today Guinea Bissau is an independent country, that Mozambique is moving quickly towards independence and that the Angolan and Cape Verdean people are also embarked on this path. It is also for us a cause of happiness that they are making these advances not only with the active solidarity of the Portuguese people — of the Portuguese communists and democratic

forces — but also with the agreement and support of the new Portuguese State. The fact that in Mozambique we are seeing now Portuguese soldiers — members of the Armed Forces Movement — side by side with the FRELIMO fighters, fighting against the colonialists and even against some African agents who serve them, is a clear expression of the alliance between the Portuguese people and the people that had for so long been subjugated by Portuguese colonialism. Today this alliance continues to play an important role, both for the building of democracy in Portugal, and for the complete liberation of the colonies.

**Dubula:** What is your Party's view on the ever-present threat of a South African direct or indirect intervention against the territories which have moved along the road to independence?

**Cunhal:** There is, of course, reason for concern about the neighbours of the African territories. We know the past and we are worried about the present. We believe, however, that it may be possible to carry on the process of decolonisation avoiding acute confrontations. Naturally we cannot ignore the help that may be given to the colonialist forces by countries in the immediate neighbourhood. We are watching the situation very closely and we are trying by diplomatic and political means to prevent any interference which could stand in the way of the decolonisation process. Apart from the strength of the liberation movements there are also other progressive forces in Africa and we are hopeful that an extreme intervention (whether direct or indirect) can be prevented.

**Dubula:** It is clear that the economic, social and political forces — both in Portugal and internationally — which were at the foundation of the Caetano regime, are obviously not dissolved by one revolutionary act. Could you in this connection describe the attempts to date by the right wing to regroup and to dilute the democratic gains and deal with the main factors which appear so far to have led to the defeat of their manoeuvres?

**Cunhal:** The fascist political organisations which existed during the time of the dictatorship have been officially disbanded. This includes the Fascist Party (Accao Nacional Popular) and para-military forces like the Fascist Legion whose leaders are now in jail. The old organisations, their old nuclei, are thus legally finished and their activities forbidden.



But this is not the end of the reactionaries. Since April 25 they have tried and will continue to try to organise clandestine networks and new legal political parties. There is the example of the so-called Party of Progress, and the so-called Liberal Party. They were involved in the September 28, 1974 counter-revolutionary coup attempt and their activities have since been forbidden.

One section of the right wing pretends now to be democratic and liberal and is trying to organise itself in "centre" parties. The Portuguese people are understandably sensitive to anything which appears under the clear label of Fascism. It is therefore easier to appear in the guise of belonging to the centre — or even left of centre, and to try to win positions in the hope that reactionary policy will be openly advanced in the future.

The reactionary forces also still have some positions within the state apparatus. And above all, they still have the economic power.

One of the main theses of our last Congress in October 1974 is that one of the most fundamental contradictions in the present political situation in Portugal is the fact that there now exists in our country a democratic political power which tries to implement an anti-monopolist policy — or at least has a tendency towards anti-monopolist positions — but at the same time economic power is still in the hands of the monopolists. These monopolists are trying to sabotage the Portuguese economy. They are attempting to create acute situations in the economic sphere which would provoke mass discontent against the new democratic order.

This is the biggest threat which we face at present, the use of economic weapons by the counter-revolution.

Until today — since April 25 — the political manoeuvres of the revolution have been defeated in the political field. This applies especially to the manoeuvres surrounding the events of September 28 which comprised the right-wing forces and exposed their reactionary plots. This was a heavy defeat for them. The most significant losses which they suffered were the compulsory retirement of the most reactionary generals in the Junta and the resignation of General Spínola.

But at the moment, in addition to the conspiratorial activities which the right-wing is still carrying on in the political field, we have the great economic conspiracy which must also be defeated.



**Dubula:** What, in your view, has been the role of the Ultra-Left groups?

**Cunhal:** In practice the actions of the Ultra-Left groups appear to coincide with the interests, the action and the initiatives of the right-wing forces.

The ultra-left tries demagogically to encourage unrealistic demands which are calculated to incite the people against the government and the democratic forces in general and the Armed Forces Movement. Their activities serve the interests of the counter-revolutionaries. It is even possible that in some of the groups there has been an infiltration of the right wing.

All this does not mean that there are not some young people in the ultra-leftist groups — mainly at the universities — who are sincerely convinced that their approach to achieve a socialist revolution more quickly is correct. These young people may be victims of their own impatience. Their lack of a true revolutionary perspective does not mean that every individual ultra-leftist is a deliberate enemy agent. But politically we consider the actions of all these groups as counter-revolutionary action.

**Dubula:** Could you elaborate on the relationship between the democratic and social revolution in the Portuguese case? In this connection could you also deal with the recent abandonment of the formulation “dictatorship of the proletariat” to describe the character of a future Portuguese socialist state?

**Cunhal:** We have never in the past, and do not now, believe in the theory of jumping over stages. Precipitate actions and slogans put a brake on revolutionary advance and do not help it.

Our fundamental task in which we are today engaged as the Party of the Portuguese working class, is the transformation of the provisional democratic situation under which we live at the moment, into a stable democratic regime chosen by the people. All our forces are concentrated on achieving this objective. This objective is shared with all other popular and democratic forces and with the Armed Forces Movement, with whom we stand in close alliance.

At the same time, as communists we present to our people the perspective of socialism and of communism. We cannot, at the moment, say exactly how we will arrive there. I don't believe that the coming March elections will lead Portugal into socialism. This is not what is at stake in these elections.

The situation in general does open up a possibility of an eventual advance of Portuguese society towards socialism without an acute revolutionary conflict. But it is too early yet to speculate about this.

In regard to the changed formulation about the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, we have had to consider, above all, the present connotation of the word *dictatorship* in our country. We suffered fascist dictatorship for 50 years. *Dictatorship* is now an odious word. There are people who are only too eager to draw an irreconcilable contrast between the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy. In doing so they denude workers' rule of its real democratic content and contrast it with bourgeois democracy which is essentially a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

If we now start identifying socialism with the phrase *dictatorship of the proletariat*, it could be misinterpreted by the Portuguese people and the word could be emotively exploited by those who are basically opposed to the real democratisation of Portugal. We want to go forward with as many liberties as possible. Only those who do not respect and who do not want to live with democratic liberties should be forbidden. We trust that we can eventually win the support of the majority of our people for socialism.

**Dubula:** The lessons of your struggle — 47 years in illegality involving great sacrifice — are of special importance to our whole movement which for many years has suffered repression and illegality. Could you say a few words on this and especially how your Party managed to survive and emerge as the force which it undoubtedly is today?

**Cunhal:** Our Party had to endure a lot. Sacrifices are of course very important for achieving prestige but they are not the only thing that determines the success of a Party. The Portuguese anarchists, let it be said to their merit, also suffered severe fascist repression in the 20's and 30's. But organisationally they were eventually smashed by the fascists.

Our Party not only resisted and survived the fascist repression, but established deep roots amongst the masses of our people and grew organisationally. This was due to many convergent reasons. I will deal with a few of these reasons.

We were always—even in the real difficult days — closely linked with the Portuguese working people whose aspirations we defended and for whose interests we fought.

We were always organised inside Portugal. Our Central Committee,



almost in its totality, all our apparatus of professional revolutionaries, all our technical and printing apparatus, all our technical organisation dealing with documents etc. etc., were always inside Portugal. We resisted the temptation that it sometimes appeared easier to transfer some of these organisational tasks outside. We of course had some comrades abroad. But the central direction of our Party was always inside our country. We consider this to have been a most decisive factor for our links with the Portuguese people. The people knew the Party because we were amongst them and they followed it even in times of fascism. And on April 25, our Party appeared with the masses. It was not accidental.

Another matter we must emphasise is that, although our Party fought for and defended the true interests of the Portuguese people, our fidelity to the principles of internationalism never wavered. We never considered that there was a separation between our national and international tasks. In all our activities we were always guided by a firmness on matters of political principle even when such a position may, for the moment, not be well understood by the masses. Life later proved that these positions of principle were right and the fact that we were not tempted to deviate added further strength to our Party. It increased the trust of our people in the political judgment and political orientation of our Party.

Our Party was always careful not to make exaggerated claims about successes. We have been educated in the school of self-criticism. We learnt to recognise and acknowledge our shortcomings and mistakes and we never shirked from criticising ourselves in front of our people in order that they too should learn from our experiences. This never lowered but rather heightened the prestige of our Party.

I have dealt with just a few aspects. But they do help to explain how the PCP transformed itself from a clandestine Party – but one which had already planted deep roots amongst the people – into the force which it is today. We not only taught the people but we also learnt from them. That is why we are today accepted and respected.

*November 21, 1974*



# The S.African threat to Mozambique

by Z. Nkosi

Economically South Africa is linked far more closely with Mozambique than with Angola. Recent trade figures, in fact, show that South Africa is Mozambique's second biggest customer, taking more of her exports and providing more of her imports than any other country except Portugal itself. The following tables also indicate that South African penetration of Mozambique has been steadily increasing:

	IMPORTS (in contos)		
	1968	1969	1970
Portugal	2,223,502	2,337,543	2,568,807
South Africa	793,330	1,127,222	1,368,015

	EXPORTS (in contos)		
	1968	1969	1970
Portugal	1,595,895	1,679,148	1,723,630
South Africa	456,473	419,563	464,944

In 1970, 13.3% of Mozambique's foreign trade was with South Africa. (Source: *Africa South of the Sahara 1974* published by Europa Publications. The unit of currency is the escudo; 1,000 escudos=1 conto)

The *Sunday Times* reported on June 2, 1974, that in 1971 South Africa provided R107 million of Mozambique's total foreign exchange earnings of R246 million. The R107 million was made up of harbour and railage duties, R50 million; imports to South Africa, R11 million; South African tourists, R6 million; and money sent back to Mozambique by black miners working in South Africa, R40 million. (Some estimates put this last figure at between R50 and R60 million.)

According to the Mozambique Convention, signed in 1928 and amended in 1934 and 1964, governing the economic relations between the two countries, South Africa had to send a minimum of 40 per cent of its total rail tonnage from the Transvaal through Lourenco Marques every year. Though this section of the Convention was scrapped in 1969 the established patterns have continued.

A spokesman for South African Railways told the *Sunday Times* that Lourenco Marques handled about 36,000 tons of South African goods every day – twice the amount handled by Cape Town and Port Elizabeth combined.

## **AFRICAN MINEWORKERS**

According to a *Rand Daily Mail* report on May 23, 1974, the number of Mozambican Africans working on gold and coal mines belonging to the Chamber of Mines at the end of 1973 was 100,000. Between 1969 and 1972 the number varied between 120,000 and 133,000. In terms of the Mozambique Convention, on registration of each Mozambican employee, R4 is paid by the mines to the Mozambican Government, making a total of R400,000 a year.

African miners earned an average of R350 in wages in 1973, and the *Mail* said this figure was expected to rise to between R400 and R450 during 1974. After six months' employment, 60 per cent of their wages are sent back to Mozambique to be paid to the employees on their return.

In the past this payment was made in gold valued at the official price of only 42.22 dollars an ounce. The Mozambican government

paid the Africans in escudos, and sent the gold to Lisbon which sold it on the free market at four times the official rate. The value of gold transmitted to Portugal by Mozambique in this way between 1970 and 1973 is estimated at R125 million. This has been a long-standing source of grievance to the Mozambique administration, and since the April 25 coup in Portugal steps have been taken to redress the financial imbalance.

Furthermore, Portugal's communist Minister of Labour in the first government set up after the coup, Mr. Avelino Goncalves, has stated that, while his own responsibility was confined to metropolitan Portugal, "it goes without saying that these things will be changed" and the Mozambican Convention reviewed by the new administration in Lourenco Marques.

The Mozambican economy is largely based on agriculture, which contributes about 45 per cent to the national economy, about two-thirds of the territory's export earnings and engages about 90 per cent of the population. Manufacturing is largely concentrated on the processing of primary products and contributes only about 14 per cent of the gross domestic product.

Investment in both agriculture and industry has been restricted by Portugal's policy of tying the economy in with her own needs. Up till the coup, the law required companies operating in most sectors to have a majority shareholding in Portuguese hands, and this restricted foreign investment.

## IN THEIR POCKETS

"Lisbon-based banks have most of the Mozambican economy in their grip", stated a special report published in the *Star* on July 27, 1974. "The system of exploitation applied especially to agriculture. A law removing the preferential treatment and prices given for Portugal's imports of sugar from Mozambique is now being promulgated.

"This move marks the end of a system in which cotton, sugar and other goods were exported raw or semi-processed to Portugal at prices far below the ruling world rate, processed there, and sold to Portugal's profit.



"In fact, Portugal's old ruling class, a small group of families, had cornered the colonial economy. Although some of the old legal backing for this hegemony has disappeared in agriculture, estates in Mozambique are often owned by the raw material processors in Portugal . . .

"It has been estimated that if the economy of Mozambique was allowed to earn the surplus revenue Portugal has been taking from it, including that from gold and agricultural products, it would mean up to R150 million a year more revenue".

Mozambique's mineral potential is enormous, but investment has been restricted because of the absence of the necessary infrastructure, particularly transport and communications. However, South Africa has been contributing an increasing share of new investment in Mozambique, and has been contemplating massive further investment on the completion of the R300 million Cabora Bassa dam project, which will open up huge fields of coal, iron, copper fluorite, titanite-magnetite, manganese, nickel and bauxite. The dam itself, the building of which has been undertaken by a consortium headed by Anglo-American, represents the biggest single item of South African investment in Mozambique.

Many of the conditions of colonial subservience which apply to Mozambique apply also to Angola, with the difference that Angola is a far more wealthy country and has received a greater injection of foreign capital. Angola's four chief exports are coffee, crude petroleum, diamonds and iron ore, in that order, and it is not surprising to find, therefore, that South Africa's share of Angola's trade falls below that of Portugal herself, West Germany, Britain, America, Holland, Japan and Canada. Here are the recent trade figures:

	IMPORTS (in contos)		
	1970	1971	1972
Portugal	3,728,308	3,832,299	2,485,084
South Africa	419,761	443,460	490,336
	EXPORTS (in contos)		
	1970	1971	1972
Portugal	4,173,095	3,698,708	3,632,551
South Africa	146,493	161,144	152,858

In 1972, 2.6% of Angola's foreign trade was with South Africa.

(Source: *Africa South of the Sahara 1974*, published by Europa Publications.)

Although little more than 2% of Angola's vast area (as compared to 6% in Mozambique) is under cultivation, agriculture supplies between 20 and 25% of Angola's gross domestic product. Industry supplies only 17% of GDP and the bulk of foreign investment has been placed in the extraction of oil, iron and diamonds, mainly by multi-national companies in some of which South African concerns such as Anglo-American, De Beers, Bonuskor etc. have a share. South Africa's biggest single venture in Angola in recent years has been the R50 million Kunene River dam project in partnership with the Portuguese, designed to supply water and power to Angola and Namibia.

Both the Kunene River Scheme and the Cabora Bassa scheme were designed to fit into the power grid planned by ESCOM to cover the whole of southern Africa, giving the Republic the key to unlock and control the resources of the entire sub-continent.

## **UN COMMITTEE REPORT**

A United Nations special committee has reported that foreign interests and monopolies directly contribute to the misery of the indigenous inhabitants of Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Portuguese territories and other colonial territories in southern Africa by rapaciously exploiting the natural resources in their lands; by ruthlessly taking advantage of the cheap labour of the indigenous peoples; by helping colonial governments to stay in power; by transferring most of the profits out of the colonial territories; and by dominating the economies of the territories (especially exports). Thus, it said, the territories' resources were not used for the economic development of the territories or for improving the economic and social standards of the indigenous peoples.

"The negative consequences of these foreign investments for the colonial people can be easily observed, especially in territories in the southern part of Africa. Despite the fact that large sums, totalling over 5 billion dollars, have been invested by the imperialist Powers, the indigenous African populations remain in a state of impoverishment."

The report said Africans had no rights to the sub-soil mineral wealth of Angola and Mozambique, although they were the largest and most

populated territories in southern Africa. For example, the Angola Diamond Company, South African and Belgian owned, had exclusive rights over more than 1 million square kilometres to prospect for and mine diamonds until 1971. Upon expiration of its contract, which was renewable, it could retail claims of up to 50,000 square kilometres.

Between 1961 and 1965 the total value of diamonds exported from Angola amounted to 3,591 million escudos and the Angola Diamond Company's total profits amounted to 2,000 million escudos of which 765 million escudos went to individual shareholders overseas. In return for the mining rights, the Portuguese government in Angola received a total of 770 million escudos as its share of the profits and dividends together with 72 million escudos as the company's "participation in the defence of the national patrimony". (Some foreign companies had concluded agreements with the government of Portugal operating in both Mozambique and Angola which bound them to support Portugal "in securing peace and order". They had to allocate some of their means to building military barracks and pay the government of Portugal considerable sums of money for the defence of so-called "national property".)

Between 1961 and 1965 the Portuguese government in Lisbon also received 155 million escudos from taxes on dividends paid by the Angola Diamond Company. The Company had also granted the colonial government loans since 1962 amounting to more than 226 million escudos while the major share of the wealth of this company went to shareholders and the colonial government. Africans did not benefit from this mining concession apart from the meagre wages paid to them and some social services provided by company owners. While the company's annual profits rose by 74 per cent between 1961 and 1965, average wages of "salaried workers" in Angola rose by only 15 per cent. ("A Principle in Torment: The United Nations and Portuguese Administered Territories" 1970.)

Similar concessions were given to Belgian, Dutch, Portuguese and American-owned oil companies operating in Angola and Cabinda. The US Cabinda Gulf Oil Company in 1967 found a large off-shore oil field which was predicted to boost Angola's oil production to fourth place in the world. The South African company Bonuskor is involved in the exploitation of a huge oilfield which was opened south of Luanda in December 1967.



In addition to capitalist and imperialist exploitation in the Portuguese territories, there is the question of outright theft of their resources through official corruption. The *Star* reported on July 27, 1974, that "the coup could see the end of corruption and bureaucracy in Mozambique. Under the Caetano regime, with power confined to the ruling elite, corruption was easy and open". The paper reported that millions of escudos in the Portugal bank accounts of senior civil servants had been frozen pending investigations of corruption. "Although not all companies had evidence of corruption, where it occurred, it is likely that the sums involved were large." The likelihood is that South Africa was also regarded as a haven for the proceeds of corruption in Mozambique and Angola, and there is no reason to believe that some South African firms were not also directly involved in corruption in both territories.

One of the biggest spheres of corruption in Mozambique is likely to have been in the handing over to African miners of the deferred pay sent back from South Africa. No records are available to show how this money is paid out in Mozambique. Many workers are forcibly recruited by their chiefs for service in South Africa, and it is probable that in many cases the chiefs also swallow up the deferred payments which are due to their "subjects".

The same considerations apply to Angola, which supplies 40 per cent of the contract labour force in Namibia. However, there is no Angolan Convention corresponding to the Mozambique Convention governing the conditions of labour of the Angolan migrants in South Africa.

## **IMMEDIATE BENEFITS**

Independence for Angola and Mozambique must, in the light of the above facts, bring immediate benefits to the peoples of the two territories.

1. The theft of the resources of the two countries by Portugal will come to an end.
2. The heavy cost and burden of the war will be lifted from the people.
3. The peoples of the two territories will be able to determine how their material and human resources are to be allocated and paid for.

4. An opening will have been created for restricting or ending the power of foreign companies investing and operating in the territories.

A great deal depends on the relationships which develop between the former Portuguese territories and South Africa. Up to the time of writing, all three governments involved had taken up a cautious attitude.

Speaking for Portugal, Foreign Minister Soares told a New York press conference in September 1974 that "if you were to apply fully, at any given point, the system of sanctions (against Rhodesia), the economy of Mozambique would immediately collapse".

Dr Soares also said that, despite its fundamental opposition to apartheid, Portugal had maintained normal bilateral relations by offering a policy of good neighbourliness and non-intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs. Portugal, he said, required the same respect from South Africa for "the problems arising in Mozambique". He praised South Africa's declared policy of not intervening in the white rebellion in Mozambique as "most realistic and most sensible".

The new Mozambique Premier Joaquim Chissano similarly, in his first press conference in Lourenco Marques last September, pledged a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. Questioned specifically about South Africa, Mr. Chissano said:

"I think it is the duty of the new government to study the real relationships existing between South Africa and Mozambique and to try to decide on a correct policy not only for South Africa but for Rhodesia, Malawi and Tanzania as well — all our neighbouring countries."

In the House of Assembly in Cape Town earlier in the month, Premier Vorster had said South Africa accepted the emergence of a black majority government in Mozambique and was prepared to co-operate with such a government. South Africa wanted to maintain the closest possible economic relationships with a Mozambique government, he said. At the same time, Vorster threatened that if South Africa was attacked from Mozambique, she would hit back with all the power at her command. South African troops are on the alert on the borders of Angola and Mozambique.

Clearly, South Africa will not intervene militarily in Mozambique or Angola unless she has to, for it would invite a world reaction with which she couldn't cope. But it is equally clear that South Africa will use all its influence, through BOSS and related agencies of the other

Western powers, to secure the establishment in Mozambique and Angola of governments favourably inclined towards her, and to Western interests generally.

South Africa will do this, not only by using her economic power, but also by a variety of "dirty tricks" on the CIA model. She will try to "destabilise" a Frelimo government, to promote disunity in the ranks of Frelimo, to stimulate tribal divisions and generally to weaken the capacity of any independent government to move in a direction contrary to South African interests.

Already South African press reports have appeared highlighting alleged ideological differences in the Frelimo leadership. The prospect of South African-financed and organised assassination attempts and other forms of counter-revolutionary activity must be anticipated.

### **WHO HAS THE WHIP HAND?**

Not all the economic weapons are in South African hands, however.

South Africa says Mozambique needs South Africa because only South Africa can utilise the electricity generated by the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric project when completed; because Mozambique cannot do without the revenue she gets from the employment of 100,000 Africans each year in the South African mines; and because Mozambique cannot do without the revenue she gets from rail and port traffic and tourism emanating from Rhodesia and South Africa.

But there are two sides to all these arguments.

1. South Africa needs the extra electricity she hopes to get from Cabora Bassa. If Cabora Bassa is lost to her, in addition to forfeiting her original investment she will have to embark on another project elsewhere, at great cost and inconvenience to herself.
2. South Africa desperately needs mine labour from Mozambique, because she is suffering from a severe shortage. Already only 20 per cent of South Africa's mine labour force comes from South Africa, the remaining 80 per cent coming from neighbouring territories, mainly Lesotho, Mozambique and Malawi. Recruiting from Zambia and Tanzania was prohibited years ago, shortly after the two countries obtained their independence.

Recruiting in all neighbouring countries has suffered from the spate of disturbances and clashes on the mines in recent years. In the year



ended September 1974, no fewer than 58 Africans had died violent deaths on the mines, most of them from police bullets.

Following the death of 77 Malawians in an air crash in Botswana when on their way home from the mines in April 1974, President Banda suspended all further recruiting of mine labour pending the results of an inquiry. In September 1974, at the annual congress of the ruling Malawi Congress Party in Lilongwe, Banda was unanimously asked to make the suspension permanent. Malawi supplied 110,000 men to the South African mines in 1973.

The factors which make mining unattractive to South African Africans are now also affecting miners from other countries. Mining in South Africa is one of the worst paid and most dangerous jobs in the world. In 1973 a total of 737 miners were killed and over 29,000 injured on South African mines – the overwhelming majority of them Africans. In his book *Labour in the South African Gold Mines*, the economist Francis Wilson records: "Over the period 1936-66, no less than 19,000 men, 93% of them black, died as a result of accidents in the gold mines. And there is evidence for the assertion that the black jobs were somewhat more hazardous than white jobs; for, over this period, the white death rate averaged 0.97 per 1,000 men per annum in service whilst the average rate for blacks was 1.62 per thousand. During 1968, 491 blacks and 18 whites were killed whilst 25,000 blacks and 2,000 whites were disabled for at least 14 days by accidents in the gold mines. More than 98% of these accidents were estimated to have been due to the inherent danger of the work."

As a result of all these factors, the *Financial Mail* reported on September 13, 1974, that there was already a shortage of about 40,000 black miners. If South African action resulted in the supply of 100,000 from Mozambique being cut off, the whole South African mining industry would be in danger of collapse.

3. Tourism, rail traffic and port congestion: If Rhodesian and South African traffic were stopped from passing through Mozambique, the Frelimo Government might lose revenue, but the South African railways and ports would break down from overloading. Already they are stretched to capacity.

As for tourism, most of the tourist amenities in Mozambique are financed by South African companies, who would be the first to suffer from cancellations.

Mozambique is in the throes of transition, and no one can accurately predict what is going to happen. It is possible that colonialism will be replaced by neo-colonialism, as has happened in many African countries since they obtained nominal independence from the metropolitan power, and we have no doubt that South Africa and the imperialist powers will exert every effort to move things that way.

However, the initiative has been transferred from the oppressors to the oppressed, thanks to 10 years of struggle and sacrifice by the freedom fighters of Frelimo. What happens next will depend on both subjective and objective factors — the unity, strength and maturity as well as the ideological direction of the liberation organisations which take power; the pressures of local reactionary forces combined with international capitalism; the prevailing economic relationships inside the country; the extent to which aid will be forthcoming from other African countries, from the socialist countries and all other anti-imperialist quarters; the extent to which the whole Mozambican people can be rallied and mobilised behind the efforts of reconstruction and in crushing the forces of counter-revolution.

The fight for freedom in Mozambique is by no means over. One stage has ended; but another and more complicated struggle has only just begun.

# **African Trade Unions & the Liberation Struggle**

by R.E. Braverman

At its annual conference in September 1974 the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) voted to open its doors to African trade unions. Only two unions opposed the motion, the Iron Moulders' Society and the Johannesburg Municipal Transport Union, together representing 3,358 out of the 199,175 workers represented at the conference.<sup>1</sup>

Nobody should be fooled by TUCSA's decision. At the time of writing, there are no details of the conditions on which African unions will be admitted to TUCSA. But we can be certain of one thing – the TUCSA decision was based on expediency and not on principle.

Hitherto TUCSA's constitution has specified that membership of the Council shall be open to all registered trade unions or unions which are eligible for registration in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Thus African unions are not acceptable to them.

TUCSA is aware, (a) that the trade unions affiliated to them represent a small and diminishing proportion of the labour force; (b) the future of trade unionism in South Africa depends on organising the



African workers; and (c) that to be recognised by the international trade union movement and the ILO it should have African trade unions in its ranks, i.e. amend its constitution to open membership to all trade unions, registered and unregistered. This might mean that TUCSA, as a federal body, could not be registered in terms of the IC Act, that some of their leaders might forfeit the privilege of serving on government-appointed committees.

At the August 1973 annual conference, they adopted a resolution urging their affiliates to form "parallel unions of African workers". This coincided with a decision taken by the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions "to set up trade unions for Africans" and they declared, "the step was taken to protect our members' living standards in the face of a growing flood of Africans into the industry".<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of parallel trade unions falls clearly within the framework of apartheid policies, is consistent with apartheid, and does not challenge the basic proposition that Africans shall have no place in a common society shared with fellow South Africans of other races.

Lucy Mvubelo, addressing TUCSA's conference as an observer, welcomed the changes that TUCSA is undergoing, particularly in the organising of African unions, integrated or parallel unions. Anything is good enough for her: but no class-conscious African, no African patriot, can approve of TUCSA's declaration that he and his trade unions are to be regarded as appendages of the registered unions of white, Coloured and Indian workers. It is not good enough that TUCSA leaders should claim to be acting under duress — they will not cure the sick society by accepting the disease. They would do more by challenging apartheid than by subscribing to its principles.

## **NO "AGITATORS"**

Consistent with the acceptance of apartheid in the trade unions as a kind of "natural law" which cannot be reversed, is the notion of "practical and responsible labour organisations for African workers", which implies that the African trade unions must not be led by radicals, African patriots, who may lead the workers into strike actions; they must not come into conflict with employers and Government; they must negotiate agreements<sup>3</sup> — i.e., institutionalise, contain industrial

conflicts, and exclude political demands from union activities. No wonder that even the British TUC delegation, though backing TUCSA in the international trade union movement, was forced to report, "There is a certain scepticism about the effectiveness of coloured and white unions, about the real intentions of TUCSA in seeking to amend legislation and promote the formation of parallel unions."<sup>4</sup> " 'Black workers' unions welcome cooperation with any goodwilled and well intentioned organisations or individuals, but reject domination. We welcome material assistance — with no strings attached. Our stand is based on the principle of self determination,' said an African trade unionist."<sup>5</sup>

How can TUCSA expect the African workers to have confidence in them when it has treated the African trade unions like a football since 1954? TUCSA has never protested against the bannings and detentions of African organisers. When African miners are shot for daring to ask for higher wages, when armed police are used in African industrial disputes, TUCSA remains silent. Students demonstrated their support for the African miners — but not TUCSA.

TUCSA has not shown in practice any willingness to challenge the apartheid laws of the country, nor has it helped those who have challenged them. When Halton Cheadle, David Hemson, David Davis and Jeannette Murphy, who helped to organise African workers in Natal, were banned by the government, TUCSA leadership refused to attend a mass protest meeting in Durban against these bannings, "in spite of every effort to get them to back the people, who were actually doing as TUCSA told them to," Harriet Bolton (Natal Garment Workers' Secretary) told the meeting. The speaker from the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union, (Coloured and Asian), said: "The people whom TUCSA claims to represent will never forgive them for this."<sup>6</sup>

## **DISCIPLINARY ACTION**

TUCSA leadership is now drafting an amendment to their constitution to enable them to take disciplinary action against individuals.<sup>7</sup> This is to muzzle internal critics like Harriet Bolton and others who criticise TUCSA's policy.<sup>8</sup>

Not only have the African workers no confidence in TUCSA, but



Coloured and Indian workers are examining more closely their position in the Council. TUCSA's affiliated membership in 1971 consisted of 79,385 whites and 107,093 Coloureds and Indians. Today, of the 64 unions affiliated to TUCSA, eleven have white members only, 29 have Coloured and Asian members, and 24 are open to white, coloured and Asians. The 64 unions represent just under 200,000 workers, of whom two-thirds are Coloured and Asian.

TUCSA has right from the start attempted to sabotage the genuine African trade unions established in Natal. When the Institute for Industrial Education was set up in Durban to provide training for African shop stewards and union members, TUCSA in a circular advised its affiliates to have nothing to do with the Institute, as it felt it would not be able to control the Institute's activities. When the Natal Garment Union executive under strong pressure from Harriet Bolton decided to withdraw from TUCSA over its non-attendance at the protest meeting referred to above, TUCSA's Arthur Grobbelaar flew down to Durban and launched a furious attack on Mrs Bolton for splitting the trade union movement. The Security Police had also, in the week following the meeting, been visiting the executive members of the Garment Union, and as a result of the combined TUCSA-Security Police pressures, the executive reversed its decision.

Having begun the process of isolating Mrs Bolton from the conservative and reformist executive committee of her union, the police increased their activities. The executive members were told that although they employed Mrs Bolton, she spent most of her time assisting the African unions, that she was a communist who was using the Garment Union for political ends. Eventually these attempts paid off. While Mrs Bolton was overseas on union business, the executive committee of the Garment Union took a decision to evict the African unions from their offices in the Garment Union building, and to cease their assistance to the African unions. These unions had hurriedly to find other premises and when they did so (in the building next door), they found they were being threatened with prosecution by the police for contravening the Group Areas Act. As a result of the treachery of her union's executive, Mrs Bolton announced her resignation as Secretary on her return.

Up to 1973, not one Coloured or Asian was elected to the six-man Officers' Committee — the leadership body in TUCSA. Only at last



year's Conference was Ronnie Webb, General Secretary of the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union, elected as second Vice-President. The NEC consists of thirteen white trade union leaders and four Coloured and Asian leaders. The white leaders are not representing white workers: most of their members are Coloureds and Asians.

The Coloured and Indian members of the "mixed" registered unions, though in a majority, are not the real leaders of their fellow workers. Seldom are they appointed by the white Executive Committees to negotiate agreements or to represent their unions.

Their desire to play a vital role in decision making was raised at the 1973 TUCSA Conference through a motion, "to debar Coloured people and Asians from membership of white unions in the future."

A.G. Soobiah, of the Union of Lampshade and Allied Workers, said, "The resolution sounds a note of warning that the trend towards separate unions must be viewed with all seriousness. Black workers today view the actions of white unionists with great suspicion because in the past they refused to carry the blacks along with them as allies."<sup>9</sup>

These feelings were echoed by a leader of the Coloured members of the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa. Mr. S. Hartley, Vice-Chairman of No. 2 branch, told the Divisional Council meeting on 13th September, 1973, that, "We are all members of the same union, and should be allowed to serve on the supreme body. The time has never been as ripe as it is now for Coloured and Asian members of the Union to serve on the National Executive Committee of the Union. There are almost 6,000 Coloured workers in the industry, compared with 900 white workers."<sup>10</sup>

The Coloured and Indian workers must, like the African workers, refuse to be second-class members of TUCSA.

## **A DIVIDED HOUSE**

The working class in South Africa is deeply divided and largely unorganised. TUCSA is a divided house. It turned its back on uniting the working class twenty years ago — in October, 1954, when it adopted a constitution excluding African trade unions.

This is what the TUC delegation to South Africa observed: "This body (TUCSA) may come to be a united movement later on, but at

present, because in 1969 it expelled the African trade unions under pressure from the government, and has done little to help since, its position is doubted by the African trade unions, who want assistance without strings. This is understandable and justified.”<sup>11</sup>

When the four trade union organisers in Natal were banned by the Government, Arthur Grobbelaar, TUCSA secretary, refused to accept responsibility for or take part in the protest. “We are not really involved.”

Grobbelaar is anxious to protect the South African regime from universal condemnation. He claims that TUCSA succeeded at the Geneva International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid in blocking attempts by the “exiled organisations” to obtain seats on the Special Committee set up to coordinate action against South Africa.

What is more significant, however, is his complete rejection of the stand taken by the Conference against apartheid. “TUCSA representatives”, he declares, “lobbied intensively” to gain support for their point of view that “the breaking off of all contacts . . . would retard changes, whereas a strengthening of those contacts would bring about more effective and responsible change”. He hopes that the resolution adopted at the International Trade Union Conference will not be carried out.<sup>12</sup>

## **LUCY THE COLLABORATOR**

Lucy Mvubelo has become their star collaborator. Lucy Mvubelo, accompanied by Arthur Grobbelaar, Harriet Bolton and Norman Daniels, leaders of the Textile and Industrial Workers, attended the annual conference of the AFL-CIO in Miami, and “there they managed to get altered a key resolution calling on the American labour movement to give full support for the banned SACTU as ‘the only trade union movement that is recognised by the Black South Africans and the United Nations’. The resolution passed by the AFL-CIO deleted all reference to SACTU and merely referred to support for trade unionists ‘inside and outside South Africa’ who oppose apartheid.”

At a conference of thirty African, Latin American and Asian countries organised by the African-American Labour Center, held in Washington, she obtained recognition. The Nigerian delegates invited



her to Nigeria in 1974. She also urged 26 major US industrialists with interests in the Republic at a meeting in New York to continue investing in South Africa.<sup>13</sup>

The historic International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid, in which ICFTU affiliates and the AFL-CIO fully participated, undertook to call on workers to take measures designed to isolate and destroy the racist apartheid system of South Africa. Why do ICFTU affiliates and the AFL-CIO cooperate with TUCSA? The British TUC sends a delegation to South Africa and accepts TUCSA as hosts. Why, when TUCSA works to torpedo the Geneva June resolutions? Why do ICFTU affiliates cooperate with TUCSA, BAWU and UTP, when these bodies preach, "No Politics" to the workers?

The slogan of "Trade Unions, keep out of politics" is a falsification of reality. In practice, trade unions, including those in the USA and South Africa, do participate in politics, but they do so as appendages, as upholders of one or the other of the capitalist parties. The real distinction, therefore, lies between trade unionists who support a specifically working-class party, and those who give their allegiance to capitalist parties.

That section of white trade unionists represented by TUCSA urge that politics be kept out of the trade union movement largely to avoid dissension between the Nationalist Party and United Party wings of the white trade union movement. The slogan, "Keep politics out of the trade unions", as advocated by Lucy Mvubelo, Hoffman, Koka and others, implies, therefore, that African workers should not make any attempt to control their destinies. Instead, they should wait patiently to pick up crumbs that fall from the white workers' table.

The utter inadequacy of "economic trade unionism" is now increasingly recognised. ICFTU affiliates in Asia in September-October, 1971, drew the conclusion: "The Asian trade union movement cannot continue merely to follow the pattern of economic trade unionism associated with some countries of the West, but must broaden its function, rise to the defence of the political and social rights of the working masses, and have points of contact with every facet of workers' life and develop appropriate organs to make this possible."<sup>14</sup>

It might seem, therefore, that there is no difference in principle on these matters between the ICFTU and the liberation movement. We would, however, make a big mistake if we were to draw these conclu-



sions. The ICFTU, its affiliates and associates in South Africa, adopt “economist trade unionism”, a reformist approach, insist on gradual, “responsible” change, and are determined to act constitutionally. They attempt to conceal from the oppressed workers the inseparable relationship they have with the national liberation movement in South Africa. They want to alienate the exploited, oppressed South Africans from the socialist world led by the Soviet Union. They want to prevent their unity in struggle for working-class democracy with the progressive forces of the international trade union movement.

This is basically a colonialist attitude. The British TUC helped to form trade unions in Africa to keep them under their wing, to exclude the revolutionaries, to prevent the trade unions from becoming a force for revolution. They hope to influence the course of events in such a way as to keep South Africa within the orbit of the Western, i.e. capitalist powers, to safeguard their capitalist investments and huge profits. For this purpose, and in accordance with their reformist aims, they seek to control and direct the evolution of African trade unionism along constitutional lines.

The struggle for wage increases is important, but there is always a danger that it can be contained in “economism”, that is, that workers will think that the whole aim of trade unionism is to obtain wage increases. The disabilities of the African worker are not confined to the factory or workshop, but affect the whole of his life — because he is a subject, not a citizen.

## **THE REAL EXPLOITERS**

But the white/black dichotomy must not blind us to the real exploiters of the South African working class. The rate of growth in South Africa is maintained by holding down wages. The whole state machinery is designed to increase productivity, to increase exploitation. Hence the upkeep of the division of the South African working class.

White supremacy is more than a wedge driven into the working class. As long as white supremacy functions, white workers cannot become truly proletarianised. A white worker has many attributes to discard before he can become truly class-conscious by Marx’s definition — “Proletarians in the highest stage of development are stripped of all

attributes except that of being in possession of their labour power". The white worker, while a member of the working class in the capacity of a wage earner, is a member of the ruling race in his capacity as a white person.

The struggle of the working class is not only for better terms for the sale of labour power, but for the abolition of the social system which compels the propertyless to sell themselves to the rich. "Social Democracy", wrote Lenin, "represents the working class, not in the latter's relation only to a given group of employers, but in its relation to all classes of modern society, to the State as an organised political force. Hence, it follows that Social Democrats not only must *not* confine themselves entirely to economic struggle, we must actively take up the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness. . . . We shall not be fulfilling our task of developing the political consciousness of the workers if we do not undertake the organisation of the political exposure of autocracy in all its aspects. In order to carry on agitation round concrete instances of oppression, these instances must be exposed (as it is necessary to expose factory abuses in order to carry on economic agitation)."<sup>15</sup>

A distinctive feature of the South African liberation movement is the fact that the South African economy is based on African labour under slave conditions: the national liberation mass movement is overwhelmingly a movement of enslaved wage workers, plus the peasant-workers, intellectuals, students and scholars. Hence the importance of the organisation and leadership of the African working class.

## NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

This is the crucial matter. What leadership, what political consciousness we inculcate now will decide the future. We must arm the African working class with revolutionary *working class* theory, raising its political and class consciousness to carry out the historical task of the working class of leading the revolution in alliance with other liberatory forces in our country.

What are our prospects?

I feel confident that the African workers have absorbed the main principles of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU),

and will not allow government and employers' stooges to confuse them. SACTU's main principle is that:

"The organisation of the mass of the workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour, is inextricably bound up with the determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive practices and laws . . . Mere struggle for economic rights . . . without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation, would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to betrayal of the interests of the workers."<sup>16</sup>

We can feel confident that these ideas are the guiding light of our people.

"The Africans are interested principally in discussion of their political problems. When they found that these could not be discussed in union meetings, they ceased to attend", reported the International Metal Workers' Federation.<sup>17</sup>

SACTU's ideology and militant stand, the campaigns it has led, the work SACTU leaders have done abroad in exposing white racism, and the prestige it enjoys in the international trade union movement, are appreciated by the workers. When Grobbelaar attacked SACTU at TUCSA's 1973 national conference, David Davis, a young organiser, objected as an observer to Grobbelaar's attack, saying: "As far as I am concerned, I have the utmost respect for SACTU, a body which was hounded out of existence because they were fighting only too strongly for the ideals of the working class. I find it objectionable that a body with hands as dirty as this Council should attempt to attack a body like SACTU."<sup>18</sup>

It is apparent that the growth of trade unionism among African workers must be based on the conditions created by a ruthless and vicious regime which is determined to prohibit the formation of free trade unions for African workers.

Mr. Alphas Mthethwa, Secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, told the TUC delegation that, "They [the bosses] invite the Special Branch to come and have a look at us to intimidate our people and see if there is anything they can pin on us."<sup>19</sup> Plant floors have been



infiltrated by paid informers. It is a tough, uphill struggle. Organisers are constantly under threat of banning, so as to prohibit them from taking part in any kind of trade union work. A sword hangs over the heads of SACTU activists.

Activists are often dismissed from their jobs, but the workers' high degree of maturity has succeeded in reinstating many. The work may suffer by the bannings of experienced, devoted organisers, but it will be only a temporary setback, as new leaders courageously step forward to take on the job of organising militant, independent trade unions.

Our answer is: No acquiescence! because we know that unions formed along the lines advanced by the UTP, BAWU and TUCSA will aim to deceive the workers, create illusions, confuse them about the meaning of trade unionism, make them believe that they have organisations which will fight for their interests. Unless African unions take their place in the total struggle for the overthrow of the existing order, they are likely to become an obstacle to revolutionary change.

SACTU activists must be given all help to organise African workers for militant action on a broad front for both economic and political demands. The African working class must and will find dedicated men and women in their own ranks who will accept the responsibilities and risks to organise and lead.

## **STUDENT SUPPORT**

SACTU activists are receiving the splendid support of students. The work of the Wages Commissions consists of what Lenin called "exposure literature" – exposure of factories and industrial conditions, the workers' life of poverty, excessive toil and lack of rights.

Among them are men and women who resemble those members of the Russian intelligentsia who 100 years ago were tormented with the Russian autocracy and the conditions of the Russian workers and peasants. They were confronted by the basic question of the place of the intelligentsia itself in social life, the role of the thinking individual, and what is to be done to ameliorate the conditions of the peasants and workers.

The Government has lashed out at the students, who have given active support to the Natal and other strikes and to African trade

unions. Their activities should be directed as well to the national liberation struggle, not towards reform but for real change.

SACTU activists have to mobilise all possible help to launch a concerted attack on poverty, pass laws and migrant labour. SACTU aims:

- (i) to organise the mass of African workers wherever they are wage earners – in the cities, towns, border areas, Bantustans – into independent, democratic unions of their own choosing (not under Bantustan leadership).
- (ii) to orientate the Coloured and Asian workers towards unity with African workers and towards becoming the real and effective leaders of their unions – not white baasskap.
- (iii) to rebuild SACTU into a powerful body capable of leading the struggle for higher wages and a decent standard of living, for the establishment of a humane society for our richly varied people, a society from which race discrimination, domination and exploitation of man by man in all forms will be banished!

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# Lessons of the Chilean Revolution

by Ahmed Azad

“The situation in Chile is, temporarily, not in our favour. But that should not lead us to underestimate the vast historic role of the Popular Unity government. Its thousand days were the brightest in the history of the Chilean people: for the first time they were able to shape their future and carry out important social and economic changes. Revolutionary politicians, sociologists and historians will for a very long time to come carefully study our experience so as to understand the grandeur and weaknesses of this attempt to perform a revolution without recourse to arms.” — Volodia Teitelboim, Political Commission, Member CC., Communist Party of Chile.<sup>1</sup>

It is over a year since the bloody fascist coup in Chile overthrew the Popular Unity government led by Salvador Allende. In that time the fascists have arrested over 200,000, and murdered over 30,000, of whom 12,000 were members of the Communist Party of Chile or the Communist Youth of Chile. The use of torture and other brutal methods

are an everyday occurrence. At present over 50,000 have fled from Chile and there are over 70,000 orphans running around the streets scavenging for something to eat. Progressive books, pamphlets and newspapers have been banned, destroyed and burnt, concentration camps and torture chambers have been created, reminiscent of Nazi Germany. But the people of Chile are not alone. Progressive mankind has condemned the outrages and brutality, is endeavouring to isolate the Chilean regime from the international community and is actively involved in offering moral and material assistance to the revolutionary forces of Chile.

## **THE POPULAR UNITY GOVERNMENT**

It must be emphasised that nothing that has happened over the last year can detract from the positive achievements and gains scored by the Popular Unity government in the three years that it held executive power. After winning the Presidential elections on 4 September, 1970 the government comprising the Socialists, Communists, Social Democrats and left Christian Democrats pursued radical anti-oligarchic, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist policies. For the major parties, the socialist and communist, it was the culmination of a long, hard parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle. The victory demonstrated the strength of an organised working class and peasantry led by political parties guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The government inherited a colossal economic problem — the national debt was more than \$4 billion, agricultural production was low, 300,000 were unemployed and some half-million families homeless.<sup>2</sup>

The three years were filled with intense class battles and innumerable problems had to be overcome. In the face of these difficulties, economic, political and social programmes were for the first time in the history of Chile carried out in the interests of the toiling masses. Wages were increased, living standards improved, land redistributed to the poor peasants, progress was achieved in the fields of education and public health, infant mortality was sharply reduced and the problem of unemployment was dealt with. Banks were nationalised and the state sector became the most significant part of the economy. The big copper mines were nationalised as a first step to restoring to the people of

Chile their natural wealth. Chile followed an independent anti-imperialist foreign policy and was developing closer links with the only socialist state in Latin America – Cuba.

## **US IMPERIALIST INVOLVEMENT**

The local oligarchy and reactionary forces, aided and abetted by US imperialism through the CIA and multi-national companies such as the ITT, from the very beginning sought to undermine the government by economic and political sabotage and blackmail. At this time the legislature, judiciary and the mass media were under the domination of the reactionaries. They used this power and influence to denigrate the government, to indulge in political chicanery and to create chaos.

Recently the nefarious role of the CIA and the American State Department was exposed. In this despicable role Henry Kissinger, who struts about the world as a one-man “peace mission”, bears heavy responsibility. The overt and covert activities of US imperialism and its agencies are of significance for all progressive social classes in the developing as well as developed capitalist countries. What happened in Chile may well be repeated in other places where there is a genuine attempt to pursue progressive policies. It shows that large-scale uncontrolled capitalist investments give the imperialists a powerful lever – stopping of credits, run-down of industries, withholding of spare parts and creation of economic chaos. The CIA had poured millions of dollars into Chile in support of the right-wing Christian Democrats and other reactionary elements. Just before the fascist coup eight Phantoms and sixteen transport aircraft of the US army were on alert at the President Stroessner Airport in Paraguay, in order, if necessary to fly Paraguayan troops to Chile in aid of the rebels. US imperialism actively encouraged and financially supported the so-called “truckers’ strike” and “housewives’ demonstrations”, and the abortive military coups in October 1970 and June 1973.

There is no doubt that the State Department is tainted with the blood of the thousands that have been murdered and tortured in Chile. As V. Teitelboim points out: “The Popular Unity government’s stay in power was a veritable kaleidoscope of subversion by the imperialist monopolies and local oligarchic groups bent on bringing back fascism



and crushing the revolution, which the people wanted to carry out by relying on their democratic freedoms. The terror methods used by the putschists bear foreign trade marks. The tragedy of the Chilean people rests on the conscience of those who hampered the popular government, did everything to torpedo its programme of revolutionary change, inflated the difficulties, spread chaos and supported the putschists.”<sup>3</sup>

## THE FASCIST COUP

On 11 September, 1973, the armed forces of Chile attacked the Moneda Palace, industrial enterprises, offices of the left-wing parties and carried out a reign of terror. In the Moneda Palace Salvador Allende, revolutionary patriot and internationalist, died a hero's death defending the revolution with a machine-gun in his hand. The gorillas who assumed power on the pretext of restoring law and order indulged in bestial carnage. All political parties, trade unions, mass organisations and youth and student bodies were outlawed. A sea of blood flowed through the streets and prison camps, and the country was plunged into one of its darkest periods. The fascist junta is an open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary elements of monopoly capitalism. The ideology of fascism is loudly espoused, with anti-communism, anti-democratism, xenophobia and chauvinism as its guiding lights. Not surprisingly, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is now an official textbook and W. Rauff, a German Nazi who is responsible for the mass murder of more than 90,000 war prisoners during the second world war, is now a leading adviser to the fascist junta. The working class and its organisations are bearing the brunt of the attacks, academics and students have been killed, arrested or expelled, and the progressive traditions and culture of the people are being systematically destroyed. Those imperialist countries and the People's Republic of China who, with indecent haste, recognised the fascist junta, bear a heavy responsibility for these crimes against humanity and common decency.

True to their class interests, the junta from the outset carried out economic policies in favour of private ownership, local and foreign.<sup>4</sup> The Anaconda Copper Mining Company is to receive \$253 million in compensation, the Cerro Corporation \$42 million and Kennecott is also going to get substantial compensation. Moreover, Anaconda and Ken-

necott have total control over the sales, transport and insurance of the copper, as also the supply of all necessary equipment and goods for its mining. Through this monopoly control the two American companies are presently making a profit, 20% higher than what they pay for the copper. This is outright robbery and a sellout of the true national interests of the Chileans. Besides the copper companies, a number of other US monopolies are benefitting from the economic policies pursued by the fascist junta.

Already Chile has a currency deficit of approximately \$700 million, there is the most devastating control and regimentation of the labour force, and land has been returned to the former land-owners. The officer corps of the Chilean army — the class composition is 80 per cent bourgeois — has been ideologically “Prussianised” on the lines traditional to anti-communism and anti-sovietism. The events in Chile over the past year clearly demonstrate once again that fascist rule is in the interests of preserving monopoly capitalism, and is directly opposed to the well-being, development and aspirations of the toiling masses.

## **ANALYSIS AND SELF-CRITICISM**

V. Teitelboim and R. Castillo, another leading member of the Communist Party of Chile, have in a Marxist-Leninist way attempted to analyse the reasons for the defeat of the Popular Unity government.<sup>5</sup> Both point out that whilst the Popular Unity had won a share of power, the reactionaries still exercised a great deal of power and influence in the economic, political, judicial, military and social fields. In some respects the left forces were unable to curb this power and prevent the reactionaries from spreading their vicious propaganda. As Castillo points out: “The enemy tries to exploit the situation by using government institutions where he still dominates, to do away with those who no longer promote his class domination. This is where our government made a number of mistakes which enabled the reactionaries to take advantage of democratic freedoms to create conditions for a fascist coup d’etat, doing away with democracy altogether. Idealistic notions of freedom and an approach to problems without reference to the class struggle were a major negative factor. As a result, the fascists were spurred on by our tolerance to their activities.”<sup>6</sup>



In combating the sabotage activities of the rightists and at the same time improving the material and cultural standards of the people, it was crucial for the left to win over the majority of the people, including sections of the middle class and non-monopoly bourgeoisie, to cement the worker-peasant alliance and to isolate the enemy. To accomplish this required not only a strong and united government, but also unity of the left forces which penetrated deeply to the grass-roots. In this respect, as both Teitelboim and Castillo point out, the Popular Unity parties displayed some fatal weaknesses. There were within the Popular Unity bloc two opposite trends, the lack of a united leadership, and absence of clearly thought-out strategy and tactics of consolidating and extending their power base.

The one trend followed by the communists sought, by different methods short of a civil war, to wrest political and economic power from the exploiting classes. They endeavoured to unite the vast majority of the population around the working class so as to isolate the enemy, to take appropriate measures consistent with the requirements of the given situation and to intensify the class struggle against the foreign monopolies and local oligarchy. The other trend pursued sectarian policies which isolated the working class from its allies. "Reformist ideas grew and spread like poisonous weeds. There was gross underestimation of some specific Chilean features. There was the persistent belief in the immutability of existing political institutions. There was excessive reliance on the professionalism of the armed forces and their loyalty to the Constitution. It was widely believed that, at the worst, part of the army would remain loyal to the legitimate government."<sup>7</sup>

The unity of the Socialists and Communists which had been steeled over twenty years also revealed some basic differences and weaknesses. There was not enough comradely discussion at the lower levels of both parties on agreements, problems and differences. It was and is not sufficient to have discussions only at the leadership level and to express one's class position. This has to be done at all levels, primarily the lowest branch levels, so that unity in action is possible on national, regional and local levels around concrete questions affecting the daily lives, grievances and aspirations of the masses.

Mistakes were committed by the failure to radically restructure the state apparatus. Futile attempts were made to harness the old apparatus and bureaucracy to carry out the revolutionary policies of the govern-



ment. The judiciary was not altered in favour of the left and consequently hampered the work of the government. The communists stressed that civil servants should not enjoy any special privileges. To that extent communists in the State administration were paid a modest salary and the rest went into government funds.

Although the government was committed to workers' participation in management, its execution was incorrect. Workers' participation was for some time divorced from the trade unions and the latter's role "was now reduced to advancing economic demands, and they had no part in management. We began to set things right, but only after the damage had been done."<sup>8</sup> The trade unions, as Lenin shows, should be "a school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of communism . . . a *link* between the vanguard and the masses, and by their daily work bringing conviction to the masses, the class which alone is capable of taking us from capitalism to communism."<sup>9</sup>

## THE ULTRA-LEFT

In analysing the reasons for the overthrow of the Popular Unity government we have also to examine the role and attitude of the ultra-left. The ultra-left, characterising the Communist Party as "reformist" and "revisionist", sought to divide the Popular Unity bloc. It has to be said that their petty-bourgeois, pseudo-revolutionary attitudes and slogans met with some response within the Socialist Party and amongst the less organised and least politically conscious workers and peasants. Pursuing a dogmatic and sectarian course, the ultra-left refused to recognise divisions within the bourgeois class, that the middle strata, urban and rural, had to be won over, or at least neutralised. They characterised the Christian Democrats as a solid reactionary bloc and rejected an alliance with patriotic elements in the armed forces. The ultra-left and some elements in the Popular Unity bloc by their actions supported the bourgeois parties which demagogically encouraged some sections of the working class to make massive demands which could not be met by the government. Moreover, the ultra-left was opposed to the struggle for greater productivity and higher production, asserting in ultra-revolutionary language that "economic problems and production

should not take precedence over the class struggle" and that "the big capitalists should see to the growth of production."<sup>10</sup> Whatever may have been the subjective intentions of the ultra-left, it is clear that objectively they were siding with reaction, creating the conditions for the isolation of the working class from its allies, and thereby helping to pave the way for the fascist takeover.

The fascist coup was possible, as Castillo points out: "because imperialism and internal reaction had built up a broad anti-government front. This was its *class composition*: the monopoly bourgeoisie and agrarian oligarchy made up its core and it included the vast majority of the middle and petty bourgeoisie, most of the middle strata, the backward elements of other social groups. Its *political composition*: the putschists had won over (besides the reactionary parties) most of the Chilean democrats led by Frei, and the right elements that had broken with the Radical Party. The *military make up*: the putschists were able to involve the vast majority of servicemen and police and prevented practically all action in defence of the democratic government."<sup>11</sup>

## ROLE OF THE ARMY

That the Popular Unity government had overestimated the professionalism and democratic traditions of the Chilean armed forces is now obvious. The government also failed to take appropriate and timely action when officers faithful to the revolutionary government were forcibly retired and replaced by reactionary officers, thus making it easier for the right to subvert the armed forces. Within the armed forces the reactionaries already had a strong social base arising from the class composition of the officer corps and the penetration of US influence, finance and military equipment. Also crucial was the failure of the left to develop a sufficiently strong base among the non-commissioned officers and privates whose class origin led them to be sympathetic to the Popular Unity government. However, it needs to be emphasised that then as now there are significant sections in the armed forces opposed to the fascist junta and who shall play their rightful role in the struggle to overthrow the junta and to build a socialist Chile.

The Junta in Chile is now more and more isolated both nationally and internationally. It is losing the support of small shopkeepers and



small and middle-level industrialists who have suffered losses as a result of the catastrophic economic policies pursued by the junta. Inflation was over 1,300 per cent in the first ten months of fascist rule, mass unemployment running to over 20 per cent of the economically active part of the population; starvation and deprivation are the lot of ever-growing sections of the people. There are increasing signs of resistance on a broad front, and within the armed forces and the Christian-Democrats there is growing disillusionment with the junta.

Under conditions of mass terror — some 15,000 were arrested in August and September 1974 alone — the forces of the left are regrouping and offering resistance on a wide front. In August, 1974, representatives of the Left comprising the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Radical Party, Christian Left, MAPU Party, MAPU Party (Workers and Peasants) and Movement of the Revolutionary Left issued a joint declaration.<sup>12</sup> It was pointed out that the anti-fascist front is growing stronger, that the parties of the left are alive and active and carrying out their work under conditions of illegality and repression, that joint co-operation and action at grass roots level are driving the repressive forces to desperation and that the forces of reaction “have not been able, nor will they be able, to exterminate the awareness of the people as they intended.”

## **LESSONS OF CHILE**

The Chilean experience raises very sharply many questions pertaining to the theoretical and practical solutions of the conquest of power by progressive social classes. In the process of revolutionary transformation mistakes are made and the Communist Party of Chile has made strenuous efforts to get to their root causes.

Some people see the question of the correlation of violence-non-violence, armed-non-armed, peaceful and non-peaceful methods as opposite poles and absolutise the one form or the other. Marxists do not have a formal attitude to the methods and forms of conducting a revolution, and do not seek to dogmatically ascribe one method of struggle to all situations and all periods of history. Revolution, as Marx said, is “the locomotive of history” in which great changes and upheavals occur in the economic, political and social life of a people. Revolution in any antagonistic class society is conditioned, not by the



whims and fancies of certain individuals and groups or by high-sounding emotional revolutionary phraseology, but by law-bound development of class struggles and by the inter-connection of the objective and subjective factors in any concrete situation. In every social revolution — slave, feudal, bourgeois, socialist — definite progressive social classes are the driving forces of the revolution. The history of revolutions as Lenin points out “is always richer in content, more varied, more multiform, more lively and ingenious than is imagined by even the best parties, the most class-conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes. This can readily be understood, because even the finest of vanguards express the class-consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of thousands, whereas at moments of great upsurge and the exertion of all human capacities, revolutions are made by the class-consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of millions, spurred on by a most acute struggle of classes. Two very important practical conclusions follow from this: first, that in order to accomplish its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms or aspects of social activity without exception (completing after the capture of political power — sometimes at great risk and with very great danger — what it did not complete before the capture of power for the most rapid and brusque replacement of one form by another.”<sup>14</sup>

The Chilean experience has not (as some ultra-left adventurist elements assert) closed the door to the possibilities of progressive social classes in some countries winning power by the non-armed or peaceful road. Chile has shown that it is possible for a united left representing the interests and aspirations of the majority of its people to form a genuine revolutionary government guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism. In stating this one must also be aware of Lenin’s advice to be “prepared for the most rapid and brusque replacement of one form by another.” Even on the peaceful road some form of force short of civil war seems inevitable.<sup>15</sup> It is obvious that no ruling and dominant class will ever relinquish power willingly, that local reaction allied to its imperialist masters will engage in subversion, counter-revolutionary plots, assassination and terror to retain their power, and consequently to suppress them would necessitate the use of compulsion. The recent events in Portugal are a case in point. The so-called “silent majority” demonstration was forcibly prevented by the united action of the people acting in concert with progressives in the armed forces.

Y. Krasin, in his well-argued and analytical book, shows the close interconnection between armed struggle and the non-armed method — that the use of one does not exclude the other. Consequently, “peaceful revolutions always presuppose the use of compulsion in one form or other, not excluding armed clashes with reaction on some sectors and at some moments . . . A revolution can pass as a peaceful one but include local armed clashes. It can begin with armed actions and be followed by relatively peaceful stages.”<sup>16</sup>

## SECTARIAN DANGER

The perspective of creating a broad anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist United Front as shown by Chile is a realistic one for the developing countries as well as for the developed capitalist world. But for it to grow and become a dominating force, as the Chilean experience demonstrates, the unity must penetrate to the grass roots of all the parties constituting the United Front. In creating and building the United Front the grave pitfall of sectarianism must be avoided. Sectarianism, as Lenin demonstrates, ignores the concrete, peculiar features of any given situation, fails to grasp the essential disposition of class forces, of what is and what is not possible, and inevitably leads to the isolation of the revolutionary movements from the masses. He castigates the ultra-left for phrase-mongering, for treating Marxism as a dogma instead of as a guide to action, and draws a sharp and profound distinction between compromises which enhance the revolutionary struggle and compromises which assist the enemy forces.<sup>17</sup> For revolutionary transformations to take place requires in the first place the closest alliance between the working class and peasantry and secondly an alliance of these classes with the democratic sections of the middle strata and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie.

Chile has shown how reaction uses the vacillation of the petty-bourgeois and middle strata and the adventurist actions of the ultra-left to isolate the working class from its allies. In Chile during the years of Popular Unity government, fascist organisations such as Patria X Libertad, newspapers such as *El Mercurio* and the mass media controlled by the reactionaries carried out a sustained propaganda campaign against the government. The armed forces in any capitalist society can



never be neutral and it is vitally necessary for the revolutionary forces to carry out systematic political work within the armed forces, both before the conquest of power and after.

In the struggle to break the power of the moribund classes it is dangerous to be tied down to bourgeois notions and concepts of democracy, freedom and equality. It is a period of intense class struggle, in which either gradually or sharply — depending on the concrete circumstances and disposition of class forces — the state apparatus must be altered in favour of the revolutionary forces; trade unions and mass organisations must be strengthened and given a real stake in the affairs of the country, and, above all, the toiling masses must be mobilised and organised not only to carry out the revolutionary policies but also if necessary to defend them by force. The creative participation of the masses in *all* aspects of the revolutionary process is the pre-condition and only sure guarantee of carrying it out.

## **IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE**

The events in Chile have also highlighted the importance of the ideological struggle. The ideological struggle between the forces of socialism and the forces of imperialist and fascist reaction has, especially in the last decade, emerged as one of the most crucial areas in the international class struggle. In this fight anti-communism and its twin anti-Sovietism are the stock-in-trade of the reactionaries. It is not only communists who have to fight it, but all progressive forces interested in a fundamental transformation of the world. Here the treacherous actions of the government of the People's Republic of China need to be brought out. Over the past ten years the Mao leadership has systematically vilified the Soviet Union and the International Communist Movement. Over the last few years it has opposed progressive forces in the Sudan and Bangladesh and in the case of Chile, with obscene haste withdrew the credentials of the accredited representative of the Popular Unity government and supported the fascist butchers. The role played by the Maoist clique in China demonstrates that anti-Sovietism is nothing short of treachery to the development of the revolutionary process.



In the ideological struggle there are no limits. The science of Marxism-Leninism must be taken into every factory, enterprise, home, university, college, school and the military barracks. Where the reactionary forces have a disproportionate advantage in their control over the communications network, the revolutionary government should take immediate steps to reverse the position. In the battle for the minds and hearts of the people no effort should be spared to expose the intrigues and machinations of reaction, and to put forward revolutionary constructive proposals.

The events in Chile, as Boris Ponomaryov, Alternate Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary, CPSU, so correctly points out “are a further reminder of the importance of maintaining revolutionary gains, of the tremendous importance of being prepared promptly to change forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, of the ability to repel the counter-revolutionary violence . . . . The peaceful development of the revolution is guaranteed, not only by an alignment of social forces under which the bourgeoisie would not venture to start a civil war, but by the constant preparedness of the revolutionary vanguard and masses — in deed and not in words — to use the boldest means of struggle should the situation require it. Experience shows that the revolution can make good progress if its social base is consolidated and reinforced. After decisive political successes it is the economy that becomes the main field for victory of the revolution.”<sup>18</sup>

Three years of Popular Unity government have given not only the people of Chile, but all revolutionary forces, a wealth of experience. Its successes and gains should not be underestimated and likewise its mistakes should not be overestimated. In three years the revolutionary movements guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, brought about great changes in the lives of the toiling masses and this can never be totally destroyed. It is a tragic but temporary defeat suffered by the brave and heroic people of Chile and their revolutionary organisations. At this stage of the struggle it is the bounden duty of all progressives to respond to the rallying cry of our comrades in Chile who declare: “The time has come to launch a great offensive. Chile’s revolutionary and progressive forces are consolidating their unity and broadening their field of action. The time has come for all the peoples of the world to redouble their adherence and support by completely isolating the dictatorship, making it the object of constant condemnation and

barring all kinds of help from the forces of reaction and imperialist monopolies.”<sup>19</sup>

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# Johannes Nkosi- a great Communist Leader

*Forty-four years ago, on Dingaan's Day, December 16, 1930, one of the great leaders of the Communist Party of South Africa, Johannes Nkosi, was struck down by police while addressing an anti-pass demonstration in Durban.*

*The details of that tragic episode in our history are recorded in the following extracts from the Communist Party weekly Umsebenzi. (Nkosi's name is spelt throughout as Nkosie.)*

*From Umsebenzi, December 19, 1930:*

**TWO THOUSAND PASSES BURNT IN DURBAN  
BLOODY BUTCHERY BY PIROW'S POLICE  
NATIVE COMRADE CLUBBED TO DEATH  
NKOSIE IN CRITICAL CONDITION**

Thousands of passes were burnt in different centres throughout the country on Dingaan's Day. Mass demonstrations of protest against the slave laws took place in all large centres in the Union.

At Durban a huge demonstration, under the leadership of the





COMRADE J.W. NKOSI

Communist Party, was held at Cartwright's Flats. Over 2,000 passes, as well as poll tax receipts, hut tax receipts, dog tax receipts, were burnt amid wild applause. After this the native workers formed into a procession with the intention of marching through the main streets of the town. Before the procession left the Flats, however, it was attacked by a large force of white and Native police armed with pick handles and assegais. The police displayed the utmost ferocity. They hit right and left in the most brutal way, wounding about twenty Natives and killing comrade Mkusi. Comrade J.W. Nkosie, organiser of the Communist Party in Durban, was dangerously injured, and, at the time of going to press, lies in a critical condition in hospital.

The demonstration was broken up, but not without resistance on the part of the Natives. The police were met by showers of stones and the Natives defended themselves with sticks and other weapons. A number of European policemen were injured and a Native policeman was stabbed.

*In the Umsebenzi of January 9, 1931, an obituary notice on Nkosi was published as an editorial, written by Albert Nzula, the first African general secretary of the SACP, then also editor of Umsebenzi:*

#### **EDITORIAL**

#### **COMRADE JOHANNES NKOSIE**

#### **FIRST AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY MARTYR**

**BY A. NZULA**

"Every cook must learn to become an administrator" – Lenin.

Born on September 3, 1905, farm labourer and kitchen "boy" at different times. Comrade Nkosie ended on Dingaan's Day, 1930, a career which for selfless devotion to a noble cause – the liberation of the oppressed masses of Africa – is an inspiration to all Africans suffering under the iron heel of imperialism.

Comrade Nkosie joined the Communist Party in 1926. At that time he was employed as a kitchen "boy" in Johannesburg. His political career, however, began earlier than that. He took an active part in the 1919 pass strike and subsequently in the strikes of the Unions affiliated to the African Federation of Trade Unions. He was appointed Communist Party organiser for Durban at the beginning of 1929, and from that time never ceased to push forward the cause of the Durban workers

until he met his death at the hands of the brutal police thugs of Pirow and Hertzog on Dingaan's Day, the 16 December, 1930.

I stayed for a week with Comrade Nkosie just previous to Dingaan's Day. When I left Durban he hinted to me that I was seeing him for the last time. Other comrades in Durban also state that Nkosie had a premonition of his death. This knowledge of the danger he was in did not in the least dampen the spirits of our comrade, and his last message to the workers of Africa, found among his papers after his death, is as uncompromising as ever. Translated freely from the Zulu it reads:

"Never under the sun has a nation been so shackled with the chains of slavery. We are not even allowed to voice our opinion on the state of affairs in our motherland. Why not awake and stand on your feet, Africans? Why these dissensions and divisions among us, an oppressed race? Men, women and young people, we must support the organisations that FIGHT for our freedom."

As he lived so comrade Nkosie died, without fear and always thinking of the cause and its success. A thousand Africans must take his place. Let the cowardly murderers of the Durban workers tremble at the awakening of the African giant whose progress no power or brutalities can stop.

Long live the name of Nkosie!

Long live a free Africa!

*A news report in the same issue was entitled:*

**RALLY IN SUPPORT  
OF HEROIC DURBAN NATIVES  
3,500 PASSES BURNT AT DURBAN  
NO WEEPING AT NKOSIE'S GRAVE**

Over 3,500 passes have now been burnt at Durban. Many hundred Zulu workers have joined the Communist Party and many hundreds more are anxious to join . . .

The funeral of the brave African communist, J.W. Nkosie, who was murdered, together with four others, by the brutal hirelings of the Pirow government, took place on December 20. Over 1,000 people attended at the undertaker's and some 500 of these marched to the cemetery and were present at the burial. A large force of police was in the neighbourhood. A number of comrades spoke at the graveside



urging the oppressed people of Africa to carry on the struggle which Nkosie and the others have laid down their lives for.

There was no weeping at the graveside, but an atmosphere of solemn determination to go forward to smash the pass laws and break the power of a tyrant government.

*A separate report in the same issue stated that the events in Durban had resulted in the birth of a new defence organisation to "assist to the utmost every revolutionary fighter and his family who may be arrested, deported, imprisoned, wounded or killed".*

*The new South African organisation was to be a branch of the International Red Aid and to be called "Ikaka Laba Sebenzi" – the shield of the workers.*

*At the first conference of Ikaka in Johannesburg on February 8, Hetty Nkosie, wife of the murdered communist, was billed as the principal speaker.*

*From Umsebenzi, January 30, 1931:*

*At the inquest into the cause of death of the Durban Africans killed on Dingaan's Day the hospital doctor who gave evidence was asked:*

Whether during his service in the Great War he ever saw the dead more horribly mutilated than were the four Durban Natives. He stated that he had seen SOME worse cases. All of the deceased had been hacked all over the body with some stabbing instrument, the skulls of all were severely fractured, while none of them had less than seven serious wounds.

"The evidence of numerous witnesses went to show that this horrible mutilation took place AFTER THEY WERE REMOVED BY THE POLICE FROM CARTWRIGHT'S FLATS. In the case of Nkosie the evidence (as confirmed by numerous witnesses) is that while he was still on the platform he was fired at by Head Constable Whitsitt. He was removed from Cartwright's Flats apparently suffering from a single wound only – what appeared to be a bullet wound in the body. When he died three days later his skull was seriously fractured and his head and body were covered with deep gashes. The allegation is therefore that the police resorted to the barbarous practice of mutilating (and killing) their wounded prisoners.

*The following poem was published in Umsebenzi on January 23, 1931:*

TO J.W. NKOSIE  
(By an African worker in Durban)

The hero we loved, the hero they hated is gone;  
Our hero has gone whence travellers never return.  
The voice we love, the voice of Johannes Nkosi is untimely silenced.  
In his home a place is vacant which never can be filled.

He gave his life for Africa's freedom.  
His heart was true, humane and tender.  
He worked hard for his own class and people.  
His spirit is with us still and will lead us on to victory.  
This is the fighter we love, our hero, comrade Nkosi.

The name of this African son will be on our lips in the struggle.  
He was the kind of leader people wanted —  
A leader true and faithful to his commission.  
He laid down his life that you and I might be freed from the pass law  
chains of slavery.  
Long live the name of our martyr at whose graveside nobody wept.

N.M.M.

*From Advance (one of the successors to the banned Guardian), July 30, 1953:*

DURBAN — In spite of inclement weather, a well-attended gathering of all races participated in a simple but moving ceremony at Stellawood cemetery, when a memorial to Johannes Nkosi, South Africa's first revolutionary martyr, was unveiled here on Saturday, July 18. Nkosi's mother, Mrs. Jacobina Nkosi, who is now over 80 years old, was amongst those present.

Many messages were received from all over the Union. One, signed jointly by Messrs. Moses M. Kotane, Walter Sisulu, J.B. Marks and Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, read:

"To freedom-loving people in South Africa this day is of great significance. Twenty-three years ago, late in December, Johannes Nkosi,

one of the most gallant sons of South Africa, lost his life in the struggle for the freedom of his people.

"The huge mass demonstration that was then organised against the vicious pass laws was indeed a tribute to this great people's leader, who, by his courage, showed the down-trodden people of South Africa that liberation can only be achieved through the courageous leadership and unity of the masses.

"We, who are following in this hero's footsteps, call upon all freedom-loving people in our country to renew their hopes in our great struggle to make South Africa a happy country for all, and to continue in every possible way to help the march towards liberation."

Among the speakers at the graveside were Mr. James Hbete, who was closely associated with Johannes Nkosi during the anti-pass campaign, and who was subsequently sentenced to six months imprisonment; Mr. Gana Makabeni, Mr. J.N. Singh (on behalf of the NIC), Mr. R. Arenstein, Mr. P. Mei (on behalf of the ANC) and Mr. Dawood Seedat. The Rev. A.H. Zulu officiated at the ceremony.

Before returning to Johannesburg, where she lived, Mrs. Nkosi expressed her gratitude to all those who had helped to keep the memory of her son alive. "I am proud of my son", she said, "and of the cause for which he died. I feel that this memorial has given him new life."



# **AFRICA: Notes and Comments**

## **ETHIOPIA: IS THIS REVOLUTION?**

The changes of the past months in Ethiopia, continuing still at the time of writing, are not easy to tuck into neat categories as many commentators are trying to do. For in essence the course of change does not appear as a single, clearly discernible straight line, such as might be marked out in a revolutionary period by a firmly unified revolutionary party with a clearly stated ideology and programme. In Ethiopia the patterns of change meander erratically, zig-zagging, confusedly. All that can be said with certainty from outside is that the process of changing the outworn structure of Ethiopian feudalism has begun; that the public bastions of the feudal regime have been breached, and the social and economic bases of feudal power threatened. The deposition of the erstwhile emperor Haile Selassie is a landmark of incipient change. It is neither, in itself, a social revolution, nor a signal that the old order which he epitomised has yet passed.

We have already believed that the great movements of history are not made by individual heroes but by the actions of the masses.

Selassie's own career exemplifies that truth. He ascended the throne as a reformer, committed to a programme which, it was said, would end the age-old backwardness of the country, and introduce a new era of social progress. Slavery would be ended; education extended; parliamentary processes instituted. Under this promise, the process of unifying the country and modernising its government proceeded spasmodically during his reign, producing, amongst other things, a small educated elite and a constitution providing for a parliament elected by popular vote. How little this programme of reform changed the basic realities of Ethiopian life for the masses has been shown by the events of the last few months, in which various sections of the population—chiefly the army, the urban intelligentsia and the urban workers—have risen against the regime. Their immediate dissatisfactions have been concentrated on two fronts—on the indifference of the country's rulers to the dire and widespread sufferings of the people during the present famine conditions; and on the simultaneous self-enrichment of the ruling caste at the expense of the citizenry. Both complaints, so redolent of every popular movement against feudalism in every country, reveal how little change in the real social condition of the country has flowed from the structural and institutional reforms initiated by the emperor at the top. Feudalist the country was when he stepped up to the throne forty-four years ago, after ruling as regent under the empress for fourteen years before that. Feudalist it remains, in all its main social and economic relations, today.

It is still impossible to say whether the political changes now going on in the country will repeat the experience, or depart from it. On the one hand, the programme of the armed forces movement which effectively controls the situation at the moment, concentrates *its* attention too on structural reforms—on replacement of the emperor by his son, who it is believed will prove to be better; on improving the democratic structures of government; and on recovering some of the wealth salted away by the old regime. There is as yet little sign that the basic social structure of the country is being attacked. Feudal power derives basically from monopolisation of the land by a handful of the ruling class, which exacts labour, rent and privilege payments from the overwhelming majority, the incredibly poor peasants. There is, in the new regime, talk of land reform; but as yet no

sign of any attempt to rouse the peasant masses to carry it through. There is talk of democratising the process of government to reduce the political power of feudal land-owners; but as yet little sign that the masses are to be allowed to play a part. There is, indeed, disquieting evidence that attempts to rouse the masses, made by students and trade unionists, are being put down with a heavy hand. The signs—and we stress that because of inadequate communications and news coverage of what is really happening in Ethiopia they are at best only surface indications—the signs suggest that, even amongst the leaders of the new reform movement, among the Coordinating Committee of the Ethiopian Armed Forces, an attempt is again being made to change the country by the efforts of leaders, heroes alone; and to keep the masses as inert spectators of the process, but not participants in it. If this is to be the pattern, then Ethiopian change, at this time in history, will again prove more of surface, of structures and of legislation, than of any radical transformation of the lives of the people themselves.

Will it be possible to keep the masses and their energies confined in supine passivity, while history is made by others, by the small petty bourgeois elements, the small intelligentsia and the professional soldier class produced even within the feudal state? It would require a far deeper and more intimate connection with the Ethiopian peasantry than we possess, to attempt to answer this crucial question of the country's future. What we can assert with confidence is that new conditions, favourable conditions, arise. The age-old, time-encrusted and fossilised structure of Ethiopian society has begun to move. It is like a rust encrusted machine, requiring extraordinary efforts to get its cogs to turn once again. But once they start to turn, once the crust has been cracked and the parts are free to move, everything once again becomes possible.

Ethiopia, the real feudal fortress in Africa, has had its crusted, iron-clad skin cracked. The scales begin to fall, and movement, however sluggish starts again where yesterday everything was immobile as stone. Movement has started. And once it has started, anything is possible, even the gathering up of speed and momentum until the first creaking heaves become a real social revolution. That is what the country needs. That is what its people need, if the bitter poverty and backwardness of yesterday is to be cast off for ever.



## THE ERITREAN QUESTION

One of the pressing problems which will demand the attention of any regime which emerges from the present turmoil in Ethiopia is the question of Eritrea, a country 120,000 square kilometres in size with a population of 4 million. The following notes on Eritrea were written by a correspondent before the deposition of Emperor Haile Selassie last year.

The Eritrean struggle is one of the most highly-developed armed struggles being conducted on the African continent, but is at the same time one of the least publicised and least known to the outside world. Eritrea has witnessed 80 years of continuous resistance against Italian colonialism, 15 years against the British military occupation and lastly several years of resistance to the annexation of Eritrea by Ethiopia, backed by the American imperialists.

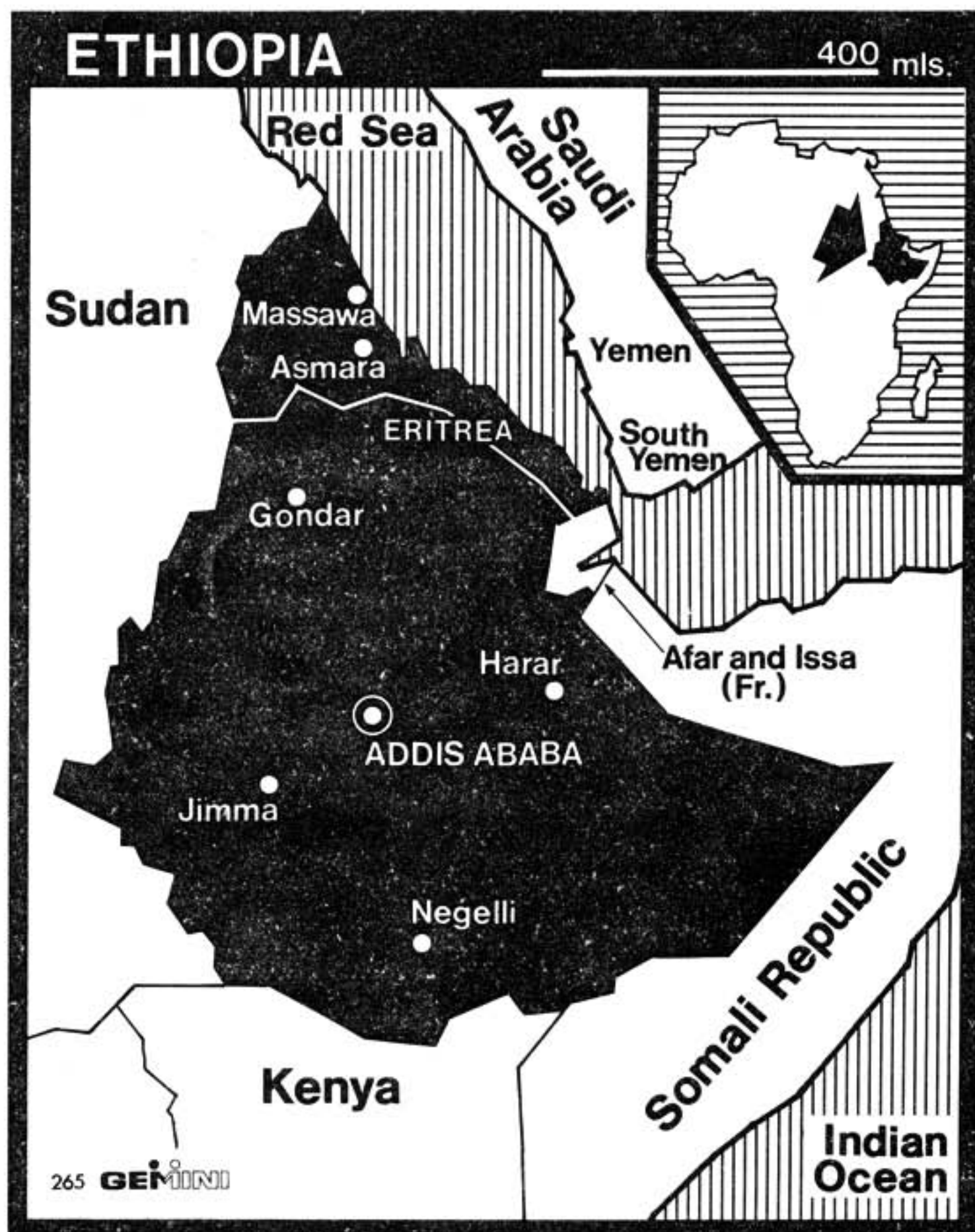
The Eritrean struggle is part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism. Today Eritrea is the scene of revolutionary struggle in north-east Africa aiming with its revolutionary theories and bullets at the target of Ethiopian colonialism and imperialism, which is part of the world imperialist empire.

In 1952 the United Nations laid down basic principles for the establishment of a Federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea. These were:

1. Full autonomy for the Eritrean Government in all domestic affairs, with definite limitation of the respective jurisdiction of both the Eritrean and Federal Governments.
2. A democratic regime in Eritrea with all its requisites and safeguards, respect for human rights and fundamental liberties and government of the people by the people.

It was laid down that the Federation was to last for 10 years, after which there would be complete self-determination, with Eritrea free to opt either for continued association with Ethiopia or for total independence.

The principles of the UN resolution have been completely disregarded by the Ethiopian government. The autonomy of Eritrea has been replaced by outright annexation by brute force, democratic liberties have been suppressed and the federal system was totally abolished on November 14, 1962, when Eritrea became an integral part of the Ethiopian empire.



The Ethiopian army captured all the vital possessions of Eritrea—ports, airports, railways, posts, telegraph and telephone communications, customs, government buildings, thus leaving nothing for the shaky Eritrean Government which had been formed through the help of the UN Commissioner and the British administration on September 15, 1952. The Eritrean political parties were dissolved, their press stopped, labour unions banned and the former President of the General Labour Union, Mr Woldeah Woldemariam, survived several attempts



on his life. Thousands of Eritrean patriots were imprisoned without trial. The Eritrean flag was removed and finally the Eritrean Parliament and Government were dissolved and replaced by the Ethiopian Governor. Eritrea became a mere province of Ethiopia.

The liberation struggle in Eritrea is being conducted by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) which considers that the Ethiopian measures are illegal and in breach of the United Nations resolution which was accepted by the Ethiopian Emperor who gave a solemn pledge to implement the principles of the resolution as incorporated in the Eritrean constitution and the Federal Administration. The UN resolution cannot be changed or amended by any party except with the consent of the General Assembly of the UN. The Commissioner of the UN in Eritrea conceded this point in paragraph 201 of his final report.

The UN resolution setting up the Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation was a compromise formula cooked up by the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and the USA. On the one hand Haile Selassie gained possession of the territory of Eritrea; on the other hand the United States was able to establish one of its most important military bases outside the USA.

The strategically important position of Eritrea on the east coast of Africa and its islands in the waterway of the Red Sea linking the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean has long attracted the attention of imperialism, and the United States and its allies have taken it into consideration in framing their colonialist policy. That is why the United States is siting bases at Asmara and in Israel, in an area near the Sudanese border and at Fatima and Halib Island. The US also manages in the area a base for training anti-guerrilla forces.

The Kagnew station which the US has established at Asmara is the largest US military base in Africa since the Americans were ejected from Wheelis Air Base in Libya. The Kagnew station, which is reported to have cost the US 60 million dollars to set up, is used by the US not only to spy on Egypt and other countries of the Middle East, but also to eavesdrop on the Soviet Union. Managed by communications specialists from the US Navy and Signal Corps, it is the most important of five similar installations in the world—the others are in the Philippines, Hawaii, San Francisco and Maryland. In addition to channelling messages from overseas units to the US, Kagnew also transmits



messages to American satellites and plays an important role in the US space programme.

The US has both military and economic interests in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Since 1953 the US has given 160 million dollars in military assistance to Ethiopia—nearly half the total US military aid to all African countries in that period. For 1970, military assistance to Ethiopia was 12 million dollars—almost two-thirds of the total for Africa.

Nearly 200 US officers and soldiers of the American Military Assistance Advisory Group “advise” the Ethiopian armed forces. High-ranking American officers work in buildings only a few metres from those of the Ethiopian chief of staff.

In addition to her interests in the rest of Ethiopia, some US companies such as Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mobil Oil and Gulf are already exploiting the newly found natural gas in the vicinity of Eritrea. Also potash has been located in Eritrea, and Kaiser Industries is prospecting in the Danakil Lowlands in the vicinity of the Red Sea.

## THE REVOLUTION

Thousands of Eritreans have identified themselves with and fully understand the aims and achievements of the Eritrean revolution. The revolution has started to organise the masses under its banner to achieve its central objective i.e. the liberation of the Eritrean people from the reactionary, colonial Ethiopian empire. The revolution has already succeeded in rebuilding the rural society on advanced, scientific bases.

This new social transformation among the Eritrean masses, who suffered from backwardness and poverty, was the result of the implementation of the resolutions and programme of the first national congress of the Liberation Front held in the liberated zones in October 1971, through the new mass organisations of the workers, peasants and women.

ELF itself was formed on September 1st, 1961, and started the armed struggle for liberation. It has established good relations with the world liberation movements for the exchange of experience and mutual benefit. Every day an additional part of Eritrean territory is liberated and organised within the framework of the vanguard

revolution: already two-thirds of Eritrean territory has been liberated.

The Eritrean revolution is now in the stage of direct confrontation with imperialism and Ethiopian colonialism, for the liberation of this corner of Africa, and to abolish the worst and most barbarous colonialism ever known in the region.

## CAPE VERDE ISLANDS AND PAIGC

Uninhabited when discovered by Portugal in the 15th Century the ten islands\* that comprise the Cape Verde Archipelago, some 375 miles off the West African coast, will soon be free. The 272,000 Cape Verdeans are descendants of slaves transported from mainland Guinea-Bissau to labour on the Portuguese island plantations. Although they have developed their own identity the islanders look forward to unity with the sister territory of Guinea-Bissau.

Whilst the Portuguese colonialists attempted to separate the Islands' aspirations from the mainland, the strong historical and cultural ties that exist between the brother peoples have been strengthened in the united struggle against the common enemy. In spite of difficult conditions the PAIGC had an effective clandestine apparatus on the archipelago and many Cape Verdeans participated in the armed struggle on the mainland. The islands' most outstanding son, Amilcar Cabral (whose parents moved to Guinea-Bissau when he was a boy), once remarked that since "even twins are not born at exactly the same moment" the PAIGC dedicated itself to ceaseless struggle until both the mainland and the islands were totally liberated. "We are the African Party for the independence of Guiné and the Cape Verdes", Cabral liked to emphasise, adding: "we are one country, one people".

Portugal's formal recognition last September of the state of Guinea-Bissau, and acceptance of the right of the Cape Verde Islands to independence and self-determination, have brought the PAIGC's dual objective within grasp; but problems and obstacles continue to exist.

The outstanding issue is the relationship between the islands and

*\*Note:* The ten islands in the archipelago are Boa Vista, Sal, Sao Nicolau, Sanata Luzia, Sao Vicente, Santo Antao, Maio, Sao Tiago, Fogo and Brava. The total land area is 1,557 square miles and the capital is Praia on Sao Tiago, the most populous and largest of the islands with 60,000 inhabitants.

the mainland republic. In terms of Portugal's pledge the islands do not immediately become part of Guinea-Bissau. Arrangements for the transition of power into Cape Verdean hands, and the future status of the islands, remained vague and were responsible for violent disturbances and pro-PAIGC demonstrations at the end of September. Whilst some Portuguese spokesmen, up until Spínola's removal from office, were still offering a suspect "referendum" formula, it is hoped and expected instead that elections for a constituent assembly will soon be held. The duly elected assembly would then decide on the future constitution of the islands: a separate form of independence or an autonomous federation with Guinea-Bissau. The former option would undoubtedly please the imperialists by keeping the islands weak and remote. The latter option, which is recommended by the PAIGC, would be a vindication of the historical links with the mainland and create a firmer basis for real liberation and economic development.

The Cape Verdean identity will be preserved in the federation structure, whilst the common heritage and links between the islands and mainland will flourish and grow. Such an arrangement would be of mutual benefit to both geographic entities and would prove enormously advantageous in the educational, cultural and economic spheres. The colonial legacy on the islands, as on the mainland, is of chronic poverty and underdevelopment. Thanks to the colonial malpractice of denuding the islands of natural vegetation and forests for the obligatory cultivation of maize, the terrain is barren and waterless. Perennial drought and endemic famine are the consequence. The majority of islanders are dependent on a meagre subsistence agriculture for their livelihood; whilst some sisal, bananas, citrus and sugar cane are also cultivated. With little employment opportunities some 20,000 young men have been forced to seek unskilled work in Portugal.

The Cape Verdeans are predominantly of mixed Afro-Portuguese descent, although about 30% are African; there are only between two to three thousand Europeans. There has been a very high degree of fusion between the islanders who speak a creole dialect based on Portuguese. On some of the islands there is a relatively high degree of literacy which has produced a more substantial "black elite" than on the mainland. In recent years Portugal chose administrative personnel from among the islanders to serve as public examples of



her “non-discriminatory practices in Africa”. Whilst the Portuguese attempted to divide the islanders among themselves, as well as against the mainland, by promoting the false aims and hopes of “assimilation”, the PAIGC largely benefitted from the patriotic orientation of the islands’ intellectuals.

## **STRATEGIC VALUE**

Whilst the “loss” of the archipelago would not be detrimental to the interests of a democratic Portugal it is clear that NATO circles wish to see the islands severing ties with the mainland. The Salazar-Caetano clique used to claim that the real aim of the PAIGC was the conquest of the islands “for the Russians”, and it is NATO that is peddling this cold-war line in an attempt to prevent the Cape Verdes from becoming an integral part of Guinea-Bissau.

For the imperialists the islands—on the main sea lanes to Latin America as well as the Cape—occupy the same strategic position in the south Atlantic as the Azores do in the north Atlantic. The Portuguese have built an extensive naval base on the island of Sao Vicente and there is a modern air base—used as a refuelling stop by South African Airways—on the island of Sal. Little wonder that NATO has been fondly contemplating extending its southern limit to include the Cape Verde chain. Although on the one hand the collapse of Portuguese colonialism has made it more difficult for NATO to extend its grip in this way, the victories of the national liberation movements are pressurising imperialism to encircle the African continent and entrench their striking forces from Cape Verde and Simonstown to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. It is not “great power rivalry”, but rather imperialism’s efforts to contain the national liberation aspirations of the emergent peoples that is behind all the hysterical talk of needing to protect “strategic sea routes” from the “Russians”.

The people of the Cape Verdes are set to frustrate NATO designs with regard to their islands. They feel themselves linked with the mainland and all observers agree that the PAIGC enjoys overwhelming support. The vigorous demonstrations in favour of the PAIGC and in solidarity with Guinea-Bissau, which broke out after the fascist collapse in Lisbon and which continue to be a feature of life on the islands, leave no doubt as to the aspirations of the people. Short of

imperialist manoeuvres and intervention, which the PAIGC and all democratic forces will guard against, nothing can prevent the archipelago from opting in the near future for unity with the mainland.

### **MOROCCO PARTY LEGALISED**

On 23 August, 1974 the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism received official recognition as a legal party. This marked the end of a long period in which no socialist party was permitted to exist in Morocco. Throughout that period, the banner of socialism was kept flying by the weekly journal *Al-Bayane*, whose editor, Ali Yata, is now General Secretary of the PPS.

The programme of the PPS was announced at a press conference in Rabat on 27 August last year. The Party declared itself an integral part of the Moroccan national movement. It pledged unremitting struggle for the liberation of those parts of Morocco which are still subject to Spanish colonialism. It stands for the nationalisation of the principal means of production, banking, insurance and foreign trade. It calls for a radical agrarian reform programme designed to place the land in the hands of those who till it; for the recognition of the right to strike; for a national constituent assembly charged with the basic reform of government institutions. On the international front, the PPS declares itself the ally of all forces struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and reaction. It acknowledges the vital role of the socialist states, led by the Soviet Union. It supports the struggle of the African peoples against racialism and apartheid.

The achievements of the PPS have been widely acclaimed, both by the people of Morocco and the progressives throughout the world. Among the messages of congratulation received are those of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the French CP, the Bulgarian CP and the South African CP.

### **STEALING A COUNTRY AND A SONG**

On August 27, the white racist government in Rhodesia announced it had selected the Ode to Joy movement from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as its new national anthem. A contest is being held for suitable words.

Six weeks earlier, Ian Smith's police moved 40,000 blacks from their homeland into 21 concentration camps — 100-acre plots without shelters, fenced in and guarded by police. No one may leave between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., shallow pits serve as latrines, water is obtained from nearby streams. The government claims it is "protecting the people from terrorists", a further indication that the freedom fighters are continuing to threaten the existence of Smith's white minority regime.

Whoever in Salisbury selected Beethoven's Ode to Joy, could not possibly have known the history of that Symphony. They must be ignorant of the composer's reasons for writing the work, why he chose Schiller's poem and what ideas these men are expressing.

Schiller's Ode to Joy appeared in 1785. Beethoven began planning his Ninth Symphony 27 years later in 1812 and completed it in 1823. It was first performed on May 7, 1824 at the Kärntnertor Theatre in Vienna.

In his notes on the Ninth, English music critic William Mann gives some background to the event:

"... the clue to (Beethoven's choice of subject) is Freedom, the ideal that had inspired his Eroica Symphony and the opera Fidelio, the ideal for which all early Romantics struggled, for which the French Revolution had been fought and won, that which fired Wordsworth's great shout, 'We must be free or die! ...'

"The longing for freedom and the bitter rage that tyranny induced are clearly expounded in the first movement of the Symphony which begins with a haze of anticipation that is the blessing man can have—the joy of freedom. For, as Beethoven knew, Schiller had originally written 'Freiheit' (freedom) and had been obliged by timorous authority, when the French Revolution was in the air to substitute 'Freude' (joy) ..."

It's incredible that a regime based on racism and oppression could have as its anthem a piece of music with this fighting history. The contest for words to fit the music, given Rhodesian reality, may be interesting. The winner, says the government, will receive \$1,000. Some ideas for words could be taken from current press stories about the country:

"Jails, prisons, camps, the police and the army assure European control of Rhodesia, a former British colony with 250,000 Europeans,



30,000 Asians and a rapidly-growing population of 5.7 million Africans.” (*Washington Post*, June 7).

“Smith’s Rhodesian Front holds 49 of the 50 white seats in the House of Assembly. There are 16 seats for blacks.” (*Reuter*, June 20.)

“The average white wage earner gets 10 times what the average African jobholder makes . . .” (*Washington Post*, June 7.)

“Five guerrillas were hanged in Rhodesia today. They were found guilty in High Court of possessing arms of war.” (*Guardian*, June 8.)

But for millions in recent years, the Ninth Symphony Choral took on additional meaning as new words were sung by great people’s artists such as Paul Robeson . . .

Brother, shout your country’s anthem!  
Sing your land’s undying fame,  
Light the wondrous tale of nations  
With your people’s golden name.  
Tell your Father’s noble story,  
Raise on high your country’s sign,  
Join—then in the final glory  
Brother, lift your flag with mine.

Hail the sun of peace now rising,  
Hold the war clouds ever furled,  
Blend your banners, O my Brother  
in the rainbow of the world.  
Red as blood and blue as heaven,  
Wise as age and proud as youth,  
Melt your colours wonder woven  
in the great white light of truth.  
Build the road of peace before us,  
Build it wide and deep and long,  
Speed the slow, remind the eager,  
Help the weak and guide the strong.  
None shall push aside another,  
None shall let another fall,  
Work beside me, O my Brother,  
All for one and one for all.

The Ninth Symphony was, is and will always be the exact opposite of what Rhodesia represents. And, long after Ian Smith and his racist backers are gone, swept away by the storms of history, it will be played and loved by people the world over.

(Reprinted from the Canadian *Tribune*)

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# BOOK REVIEWS

## WHAT AMERICA WANTS FROM AFRICA

*US Neo-Colonialism in Africa* by Stewart Smith, published by Progress Publishers, Moscow. *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa* by Samir Amin, Penguin African Library, 70p.

The key position of Africa in world affairs, and its relations on the one hand with the imperialist states, and on the other with the socialist world, continue to be a favourite subject with a growing number of authors. This is not surprising, for the recent upsurge in Ethiopia and the impact of the armed liberation struggle in Mozambique and Angola (to say nothing about the new democratic state of Guinea Bissau) on the revolutionary advances in Portugal itself, make clear that the African revolution, instead of subsiding, is reaching a new stage.

One new book *US Neo-Colonialism in Africa* by Stewart Smith does not deal so much with recent events in Africa, but gives a survey of the US imperialist pressure on the continent. It is really a political survey of US imperialist policy in relation to Africa, faced with the growth of the liberation movement and its continued growth. The author expresses the view that:



“The US employment of levers – both governmental and private – in various spheres has been flexible and pragmatic, shifting in emphasis in various countries and periods. For analysis purposes, some of these may be conveniently viewed by sphere, although in practice, to be sure, they are closely intertwined.”

The changes during the past two decades make this clear, though the book is careful to emphasise that the main principle of US strategy is to rely on the apartheid state of South Africa, Zionist Israel, and until recently on Portuguese colonial rule as the main buffer against the independent African states and the liberation movement as a whole.

From the economic standpoint US monopoly interests are greatly attracted by the vast mineral resources in Africa, and the vast profits they can extract through this channel. The gold and diamonds of South Africa were (and still are) a great magnet. Their economic grip in South Africa has been stronger in the past two decades at the expense of British monopoly – though the latter still appears to be the strongest.

The last account of US investments in Africa as a whole is for 1970, reaching the level of \$3,476 million, in contrast to only \$664 million in 1957, about five times as much. US profits rose from only \$33 million in 1960 to \$845 million in 1970. Rate of profit was 3 per cent in 1960 rising to 24 per cent in 1970. One quarter of these investments were in South Africa in 1970. In the four years since 1970 both investments and profits have rapidly increased, but there is always a time-lag before the official financial accounts appear, and even then a big slice of profits is never disclosed.

The author refers to a basic study presented by the US Senate in 1959 which recognised that the African liberation movement was rapidly growing, and must be taken into account, and then outlines the main aspects of US neo-colonialist strategy. This new phase has been dealt with in what Jack Woddis and I have written on this subject, but it seems to me we are justified in expecting a US author to deal more fully with the manner in which (in some respects) US imperialism was the fore-runner of present-day neo-colonialism.

Coming later in the field of capitalist development and imperialism, and starting off on a higher level, the US did not need to have vast colonies like Britain and France – though it annexed the Philippines and Haiti, and gave birth to Liberia. With its strong economy and vast financial resources it was able to dominate South America without

imposing direct colonial rule. In this sense (and in this sense only) it exercised early forms of neo-colonialism, and was able to boast of not being a "colony-owning power" like Britain.

There are also one or two other aspects of the book on which there could be greater clarity. In the Preface the author explains that:

"The study examines the primary political aims and policies of US ruling circles and the slower moving economic monopoly interests . . ."

It seems to me this is not always correct. An international monopoly firm has hundreds of agents and "experts" before a government or "ruling circles" can take swift measures. Naturally, once these have been taken the government does not oppose them, and in general recognises they are in its interests.

Nor can I accept the view that independence was attained in tropical Africa "without preparatory steps being taken by Britain". True, British ruling circles recognised that independence had to come, but they did everything to delay it as long as possible, and to concoct "constitutions" which would hamper the new states. The delay in Ghana was from 1951 to 1957, in Nigeria from 1954 to 1960, and likewise in Kenya and elsewhere. There *was* preparation, but of the wrong kind.

However, these are minor faults in Smith's book compared with its high political quality and positive aspects. It gives a penetrating analysis of developments in Africa, imperialist exploitation, and the US strategy of neo-colonialism.

Another book *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa* by Amir Amin gives a more detailed analysis precisely because it is confined to one region, but an important one. The author is an Egyptian, and has written many books on individual countries in West Africa.

He fills an important gap in the book by Stewart Smith, that of exploitation by trade and the widening gap between what independent African states get for their exports and what they pay for imports. Moreover, it makes a devastating exposure of what he terms the "plantation economy" as well as a more specific analysis of the grip which foreign capital has on the economy of these states.

The main searchlight is on Senegal and the Ivory Coast, but serious attention is also given to Mauritania, Ghana, Gambia and other countries. The first two countries are well on the road of capitalist develop-

ment, with the aid of foreign capital, which is far more powerful in the economy than the African bourgeoisie.

Mauritania is a striking example. The Compagne Minere du Fer de Mauritania (MIFERMA) is an international monopoly firm. It is jointly controlled by big business firms in France, Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and Italy. In 1964 five per cent of the share capital was handed over to the Mauritanian government to make it involved directly in the operations of MIFERMA.

After his detailed analysis the author says:

“... the unambiguous conclusion must be that the fragmentation of economic area which West Africa has undergone constitutes an irresistible pressure for the maintenance of colonial structures and policies and colonial ‘development’, and that these in turn no less irresistibly produce foreign domination and underdevelopment.”

Throughout this most interesting book the term “imperialism” hardly appears. This conclusion gives one important aspect of the impact of imperialism, but one would have wished for a more all-round economic and political analysis of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Idris Cox

## WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

*African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*  
by Kenneth Little, Cambridge University Press, £4.90.

“The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between men and women in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male.” So wrote Engels in “The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State” in 1884. In support of this view, Kenneth Little states that in African traditional society men and women played distinct and different roles, the role of women being complementary rather than subordinate to that of men even though women were as a rule under the control of men. But in the market economy that developed under colonialism only the African male population was at first regarded as a labour reservoir. Regulations were



widely enforced to bind women to the villages to ensure that the men would return there and would send back remittances. In time the women followed the men to the towns. But there they were to find themselves at a disadvantage in terms of experience, training and education, and they faced discrimination in the form of the charge that they could not adapt to industrial conditions and the belief that a working wife was a threat to her husband's authority.

As a reaction against the changed circumstances in which women found themselves they have played a significant part in movements for independence and political change. Little cites instances in Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya and the Ivory Coast where women "displayed a degree of militancy associated traditionally with male rather than female behaviour." As one Nigerian chief commented: "Women never banded together before in this way. If they had a grievance they came to the head of the house with the complaint."

## CRUCIAL ROLE

In independence movements women have played a crucial role: "In all the (French) territories women have taken part in militant action with more enthusiasm than men. While the latter are less liable to discouragement, the women on the other hand are less responsive to offers of place and office, and thus less open to corruption." (Modibo Keita.)

The revolutionary potential of women was also acknowledged by Sekou Toure:

"In the revolutionary type of action . . . we were only able to base our efforts on the most disinherited levels of society . . . above all, the women, practically untouched by the colonial regime, and not associated with the economic or administrative organisation of that regime, who form the essential prop of our actions. It is from them that we receive the most dynamic force because in them lies the total hope for progress."

But, as Little points out, attitudes towards the advance of women once independence had been won were ambivalent. Though the right to vote was sponsored by male politicians, apparently as a reward to women for their part in the struggle, having gained what they wanted in terms of power some political leaders have seen the danger to themselves

in carrying revolution too far.

By way of illustration, Little cites what happened in Kenya where, before independence, the women's part in nation building had been recognised as equal to the men's. But after independence the Government turned out to be "even less responsive to women's rights than the colonial administration". Women's sections of political parties were conceived of as useful auxiliaries to mobilise voters for male contestants. In education boys continued to get preference over girls and the National Youth Service was restricted to boys. There was no move to change divorce and marriage legislation that favoured men, and in 1969 an all-male National Assembly abolished the one law that gave unmarried mothers and their children some protection. It was as a reaction to their disappointment that a separate women's movement developed in Kenya.

## SEXUAL WARFARE

"The woman's right to a place in the highest circles of the nation has been widely and publicly acknowledged," says Little, "but their fundamental status is, as yet, somewhat hypothetical. Its resolution hinges not on whether *individual* women are able to rise to fame but on whether women *as a whole* are able to participate in the 'open' as distinct from the traditional sectors of society." He goes on to say that this is a matter about which women's leaders themselves are inclined to hedge — they do not want to jettison what they regard as good in traditional society, such as a woman's focus on home life and the care of husband and children. It remains to be seen, he concludes, whether African women will, in increasing numbers, desire to break with tradition and whether they are prepared for a species of "sexual warfare".

Little's book is packed with a wealth of interesting material from a wide range of sources and many different countries. Alas, only isolated references are made to women's circumstances and actions in South Africa because, regretfully, the author felt that he could not include an additional chapter which the special problems raised by apartheid would have necessitated.

M.O.T.

## IMPERIALISM'S NEW ALLY

*China's Policy in Africa: 1958-1971* by Alaba Ogunsanwo,  
Cambridge University Press, 1974, pp 310. £6.60.

The changing world balance of forces is further deepening the general crisis of the international imperialist system. Imperialism increasingly finds itself unable to impose its will on the peoples.

The chain of defeats for the imperialists stretches from Vietnam, through Bangladesh, the Middle East, the Cyprus-Greece-Turkey situation and now to Portugal and the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

In this situation, world reaction is compelled to intensify its offensive in the sphere of ideology. A sharp and systematic battle has been opened to capture the minds of the working people throughout the world. The central aim is to turn the toiling masses away from the beckoning light of the socialist transformation of the whole world.

In all the imperialist countries there exist today specialised intellectual factories, "think-tanks", one of whose objectives is to produce sophisticated treatises aimed at the propagation of anti-communist ideas.

The book under review comes from such a factory. In this case, it is the *Centre for International Studies, London School of Economics and Political Science*.

According to the publishers, the Centre "was established in 1967 with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation. Its aim is to promote research . . . particular emphasis being given initially to contemporary China, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the relationship between these areas and the outside world."

Ogunsanwo is a product of the London School of Economics. He now lectures in International Relations at the Nigerian University of Ife.

A product of a bourgeois university, Ogunsanwo is now, as his book shows, busy pumping into the heads of his students at Ife the same ideas that his bourgeois lecturers pumped into his own head at the LSE.

Ogunsanwo is one of the army of the thousands of bourgeois intellectuals, African representatives and propagandists of anti-communist ideology, that are scattered all over the African continent.

This is a book which, as the publishers say, has been meticulously researched. It is in fact written with such pedantic attention to detail that it is at most times very difficult to tell the wood from the trees.



Seemingly, the author has failed to penetrate beyond the phenomenon to grapple with the essence of the question of China's policy in Africa.

The facts and figures are there in sufficient quantity: how many African delegations visited China, from which country, in what year; how many Chinese delegations did the return trips; Chinese-African exports and imports; Chinese aid to Africa etc. etc.

Yet this could hardly have been the purpose of all the meticulous research and the expenditure of the funds of the Centre merely to state who has been in contact with China and which country in Africa has closest links with her.

The true significance of this book, naturally, does not lie in the facts and figures. Its true import is in its anti-Sovietism. The author is not interested to penetrate to the essence of China's policy in Africa.

What he tries to show, essentially, is that China is a better friend of the African peoples than is the Soviet Union. This is so on all counts — whether political, economic or military.

To quote a passage in illustration: "The Soviet Union was embarrassed by the (1961) arrangement which specified that Chinese experts in Ghana were only to be paid maintenance allowances by the Ghana government and their standard of living was not to exceed that of their Ghanaian counterparts. In January 1962 . . . Soviet personnel salary policy was reviewed. Under the new agreement, the Ghanaian government was to pay only half the salaries of Soviet personnel in Ghana and the Soviet Union the other half . . . Even if this was the only result of the agreements with China, it did at least help to relieve the burden of foreign technical assistance." (p.91)

The Soviet Union emerges in this book as an aid-giver which has loaded the African countries with heavy debts and debt-servicing charges; as a socialist country that put the interests of peace above those of the liquidation of colonialism; as a country that did very little, if anything at all, to help those African peoples who were fighting wars of liberation.

On all these questions and others besides, China, of course, comes out with top marks, successfully combining "pragmatism essentially dictated by the state interests of China with 'revolutionism' emanating from the ideological foundation and infrastructure of the Chinese Government." (p.267)

Ogunsanwo's own conclusion is that: "In the course of time tension did arise between the two aspects but fortunately for China the result was not disintegration but what I have called 'revolutionary pragmatism'."

It is not so long ago that bourgeois propagandists were shouting at the top of their voices about the "evil intentions of Chinese communism". All this has disappeared today. The question to ask is why.

The reason is to be found in the essence of Chinese foreign policy, which Ogunsanwo and his sponsors are so careful to hide.

In its essence, that policy is anti-communist, anti-Soviet and anti-popular. That is why today China has friends among the most reactionary forces in the world, including such products of the training schools of world anti-communism as Ogunsanwo.

For his opinions, Ogunsanwo feeds on other professional anti-communists. The result is such items of stock-in-trade anti-communism as the following:

"The dilemma of Marxism-Leninism arises when a Communist party assumes absolute power in a state. The demands of proletarian internationalism sometimes conflict unavoidably with the traditional concept of national interest . . ." (p.10)

"The Chinese Communist Party was not in, in 1949, as a result of Stalin's assistance and generosity, but in spite of him and the 'advice' he had given to the Chinese Communists at the end of the Second World War — advice dictated by what he considered to be Soviet imperial interests in the Far East." (p.11)

"In the field of propaganda and agitation, Marxist-Leninists have always found 'people's' organisations indispensable. These can perform adequately the necessary activities without incurring the odium normally attached to Communist parties in many countries." (p.41). The author then goes on to list AAPSO, the WPC, the WFTU, IUS, WFDY etc. as such "front" organisations.

The theory and practice of Maoism have been adopted by the forces of reaction as yet another weapon in their anti-communist ideological offensive.

This book serves as added confirmation of the necessity for the world communist movement, jointly with the true Marxist-Leninists of China, to fight consistently for the defeat of the Maoists.

Ngungunyane



## NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND RACE CONFLICT

*Strategic Problems in South Africa's Liberation Struggle: A Critical Analysis* by Ben Turok, published by LSM Information Center, Canada.

Ben Turok's pamphlet, which is supposed to be a critical analysis of the strategic and tactical problems of the liberation movements, is neither scientifically analytical nor constructively critical. The pamphlet contains certain factual errors and is littered with highly controversial points none of which are corroborated with any concrete evidence. These include the claim that the Black Republic slogan of the thirties was not a demand for non-racialism; that Poqo was a military wing of the PAC; and the highly provocative view that the allegation that "the ANC was unduly influenced by the CP" was made more "credible by virtue of the fact that the CP had a predominantly white Central Committee at the time it was banned".

The purpose of this review, however, is not to enter into a kitchen-sink dispute but to deal with two important questions raised in the pamphlet – the problem of the correlation of national and class struggle and violence-force as a prescription for revolutionary change.

In criticising a Marxist approach Turok gives as Marxist-Leninist propositions crude vulgarisations conceived by anti-communists and anti-Marxists, and artificially separates the race and national question from the class struggle. He shows his failure to understand the SACP's characterisation of South Africa as constituting a colonialism of a special type by arbitrarily dividing the concept into two separate parts. Incorrectly contrasting the development of a national consciousness and the unity of the oppressed with a greater "polarisation" of black and white Turok makes the fatal mistake of perceiving the struggle for national liberation as a purely "racial conflict". Any attempt to separate racial and national problems from the class struggle is anti-scientific and objectively presents a growing danger to the development of the revolutionary struggle. History has proved that race and national problems can only be solved in their indivisible connection with the resolving of the antagonistic class contradictions of the toiling masses and the exploiters. In accordance with this approach the SACP has always supported the progressive, revolutionary democratic content of African



nationalism and has worked tirelessly to bring about the unity of the oppressed people'. The Party has and will always be opposed to any narrow nationalistic ideology which seeks to divide the workers and which may lead to harmful positions of sectarianism, chauvinism and racialism.

Turok's narrow and limited view binds him to many bourgeois concepts and notions which lead him to distort the essence of the contribution of the Congress Movement led by the ANC and the SACP to the national liberation of the African people of South Africa. To add insult to injury he demagogically declares, "some groups in exile like PAC and the Communist Party have periodically turned to Marxist phraseology". This piece of sophistry which puts the SACP side by side with the PAC serves to underline the superficiality of the pamphlet. The Communist Party has a proud record of unyielding resistance to all forms of oppression, national and class, and has been and is propagating Marxist-Leninist ideas under the most difficult conditions. The PAC was a renegade, anti-communist, narrow-minded nationalistic organisation which has split into many factions and is now to all intents and purposes moribund.

Taking an ultra-leftist adventurist approach Turok claims that the turn to violence led to greater clarity in the liberation movement's perspectives of the revolutionary process. For genuine revolutionaries however, force is not a matter of principles but of tactics and strategies determined by the objective and subjective factors both nationally and internationally. Violence is not and can never be a panacea for all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-racist struggles.

Utilising the strategy of non-violent mass resistance against a ferocious enemy, the Congress Alliance led by the ANC fulfilled during the fifties its historic task of advancing the struggle to a new and higher level and of imbuing the toiling masses with a revolutionary consciousness.

The use of violence by the liberation movements in South Africa does not necessarily mean a greater "polarisation" of blacks and whites. To argue as does Turok that it is Utopian to seek to split the whites is a defeatist and sectarian attitude and one which plays into the hands of the racist regime. A purely skin strategy, violent or non-violent, has no possibility of bringing about fundamental changes anywhere in the world. Surely it is correct to assert that as the armed revolutionary struggle develops the divisions within white South Africa will grow even

deeper and thereby help to create a serious crisis for the fascist regime.

Turok's pamphlet is a highly misleading and jaundiced study which does not shed any light on the past nor does it contribute to deepening our understanding of the theoretical, strategical and practical problems thrown up by the struggle. The revolutionary process in South Africa is infinitely more complex and difficult than Turok imagines. Only the science of Marxism-Leninism offers the correct methodological approach and practical solutions to the fundamental question of the South African revolution – the correlation of the anti-racist struggle and the class struggle.

Azad

### **BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS – A BLIND ALLEY**

*Black Theology: The South African Voice* edited by Basil Moore  
C. Hurst & Co., London. £2.50.

This is a collection of essays by thirteen different authors, of whom eleven are South Africans, one West African and one American. The concept of "Black Theology" which gives the essays such common theme as they possess, seems to be an extremely loose one. What some of the authors, like Basil Moore, are really doing is discussing in a South African context the ideas which are current among left-wing Christians all over the world. Others, like Manas Buthelezi and A.J. Omoyajowo, are concerned with a synthesis of Christian beliefs with traditional African cultures. Others again, like Adam Small and Nyameko Pityana, are discussing in a religious context the socio-political concept of "black consciousness" as established in recent years by the South African Student Organisation.

The most directly political of the essays is that of Adam Small. It is a brief but very interesting summary, which reveals the major difficulty in the way of those who are trying to construct an ideology of "black consciousness". Their fundamental idea is to restore dignity and pride to African people by teaching them to see themselves in terms of their own awareness, not in terms of ideas imported from Europe. They also wish, quite rightly, to promote the unity of the oppressed. There-



fore, they define black as "people of all shades of colour who are not considered by the laws and the people of this country to be white" (the words are Adam Small's, but the idea is familiar in SASO writings). But this definition offends against the fundamental idea, which is *not* to see blacks in categories imposed upon them by whites. If "black" is to be merely a euphemism for the oppressor's contemptuous lumping-together term of "non-white", it is not likely to be a promising foundation for the re-building of pride and self-confidence.

What is missing here is what scientific socialism has always known — that the unity of the proletariat is strong enough to exist side by side with the full recognition of the cultural diversity of different national groups. The attempt to stifle and ignore this diversity has led many well-meaning South African leftists up blind alleys in the past (as in the late, unlamented Non-European Unity Movement). It would be tragic indeed if "black consciousness" were to become merely a repetition of these errors.

*Apartheid and the Archbishop* by Alan Paton, Jonathan Cape, London. £4.50.

This biography of Geoffrey Clayton, Bishop of Johannesburg and later Archbishop of Cape Town, touches on the political conflicts in which the Anglican Church in South Africa has been involved in modern times. It is, however, of limited interest to those outside church circles.

P.M.

### THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

*Agriculture in Zambia since Independence* by C.S. Hombard & A.H.C. Tweedie, published by Neczam for the Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia.

This is the first publication in a new series *Zambia — Past and Present* published by Neczam for the Institute of African Studies in Zambia.

An understanding of agriculture in Zambia since independence cannot be divorced from a knowledge of agriculture prior to independ-



ence and, since agriculture cannot be viewed in isolation from the social, economic and political life of a country, I feel that, while appreciating the value of statistics and the policy decisions and instructions of the Zambian government discussed in the book, the weakness of the book is that it fails to emphasise the debilitating and devastating role of colonial rule and its consequent disastrous effect on every aspect of life, including agriculture, in Zambia. As in so many other countries in Africa, the colonial masters left Zambian agriculture with the minimum of technological equipment, education, management and skilled manpower and the maximum of problems which go hand in hand with a subsistence level of existence for the great majority of its people.

The preface points out the purpose of the book is by information to combat the tendency to malign or at best to misunderstand the place of agriculture in the Zambian economy. But its concentration on the "behaviour of farmers and supporting services and the economic environment in which they operate" would have been more meaningful if coupled with a disclosure of the reasons for this behaviour. Such a disclosure would have made the problems of the Kaunda Government in their battle to make agriculture a viable industry better understood, not only by students of agriculture but by the many friends of Africa interested in the welfare of the peoples of that continent.

The authors point out that Zambia is a developing country with a low population density, a serious shortage of skilled labour, a rapidly increasing population, a large subsistence farming sector and an export capacity limited to a few commodities. It covers 290,000 sq. miles (the size of Britain and France combined) and has only 4 million people. Its GNP in 1969 was K230 per head, nearly 4 times that of Tanzania and nearly 3 times of Kenya. About 1/3rd of her population is in urban areas and her wealth is concentrated in that sector. She has a rich mining sector and a poor subsistence sector. Between 49% of the Gross Domestic Product in 1969 was in the mining sector and only 6.8% in agriculture. Of the exports, 98.5% was in the former sector and 0.5% in the latter. The average African wage in urban areas in 1970 was K1,453 whereas in rural areas it was K348. While towns have boomed, rural areas have slumped. The conflict between town and country, a normal feature of capitalism, stands out clearly in Zambia and has brought with it a dependence on imported foodstuff presenting serious political and economic consequences and an equally serious problem of malnutrition.

The authors point out that under the control of the Government and despite distances, inadequacy of transport and lack of skilled manpower, Zambia can achieve her political aims of Zambianising production, reducing the urban rural gap, maintaining the supply of a balanced diet and diversifying the economy of the country. Unlike many other developing countries, Zambia does not rely on agricultural exports as the basis of her economy but her dependence on agricultural imports to feed her people and provide raw material for industry presents political, economic and social problems apart from depriving her farmers of a much required source of income.

The authors find that Zambia is blessed with abundant natural resources and that self sufficiency in the production of the great majority of foodstuffs is well within her potential. Her main problem is that of skilled manpower, the lack of which she inherited from her colonial masters. The authors' conclusion is that "with determination and manpower Zambia could become a net exporter of agricultural commodities".

The authors have made a valuable contribution to the study of an African State struggling to maintain its independence, but Zambia's success is not only dependent upon her solving her expatriate problem but also in avoiding a perpetuation of the present dichotomy of large scale farming on 5,000 acres and small village farming on 20 acres with its two class farming system so akin to the feudal relationship which is still an unfortunate part of the structure of so many African states. It is therefore of the utmost urgency, that the concept of co-operatives be understood, accepted and implemented by the Government and the people of Zambia.

L.B.

### **THE NON-POLITICAL PRISONER**

*Bandiet: Seven Years in a South African Prison* by Hugh Lewin,  
Published by Barrie and Jenkins, London.

To write an almost non-political account of seven years as a political prisoner in a South African jail would seem to be the most unlikely literary feat of the year. It is just this that Hugh Lewin has managed to



do in his autobiographical *Bandiet* — the Afrikaans prison term for convict. Lewin's offence was "sabotage" — a strictly political offence carried out deliberately as an act of political protest against Government apartheid practices, as a member of a small group known as the African Resistance Movement, or more colloquially ARM. ARM was a radicalised offshoot of the South African Liberal Party. Most of the political prisoners in Pretoria's jails, with whom Lewin shared cells and experiences during his seven-year sentence, were further to the left — Communists or left-wing supporters of the Congress movement. His enforced intimacy, over seven years, with people like this must have been a profoundly political experience, or at least the stimulus for a profound personal inner change and development.

Lewin, unfortunately, chooses to avoid all this. Not it would seem, because his pen is inadequate. In fact as a professional journalist he writes with great clarity and skill. But his book is concentrated almost exclusively on the sheer horrors and inhumanities of imprisonment, and steers well clear of the personal and social consequences, which are so weighted — in the South African scene — with serious political overtones.

This is unfortunate. Though Pretoria's prisons are barbaric, its warders vicious, and its regulations deliberately oppressive, much the same can be said of prisons everywhere. Punishment, tyranny and destruction of the individuality of the convict are their universal purpose. Naturally, each country produces its own special features; and South Africa, being an unusually oppressive and power-based state, produces an unusually oppressive and harsh prison regime. But what does this special set of conditions do to its victims? One looks for answers to this question in vain. Lewin who was there should know. Perhaps he deliberately avoided telling, because silence is necessary to protect those he has left behind him in the cells of Pretoria or those who will, unquestionably, as the years pass, find their way there for political crimes not yet committed.

If so, it is a pity. For he gives his account of prison life simply and vividly, so that it grips and moves to pity. And yet because it avoids the central problem, which is *people* — people! not conditions! — it makes his book less worthwhile than his combination of writing talent and inside knowledge could have made it.

T.





world ever since, the strengthening of the struggle for national liberation in Africa and elsewhere in the Third World against racial discrimination in Africa, in the Americas and elsewhere and the question of colonialism, zionism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, unity and solidarity.

The conference had the honour of being opened by Ndugu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and received a recorded message from comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PAG) and the President of the Republic of Guinea, the speeches of the two African leaders having been unanimously accepted as basic documents of the deliberations of the Congress. Ndugu Aboud Jumbe, 1st Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania, deputised during the sessions for Ndugu Mwalimu Nyerere who had been unanimously selected Chairman of the Congress.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The Pan African Movement was born, historically, to promote freedom and justice for black men and women. It was led by the logic of that demand to struggle against colonialism, oppression, and racialism. That, in its turn, requires the unity of Africans including those people of African descent outside Africa.

We are indebted to all those who played a constructive part in the Pan-African Congresses.

In particular, we pay tribute to the efforts made by the Pan African Association, under the leadership of Henry Sylvester-Williams, in organising the 1900 Pan African Conference. We also pay tribute to the special contribution made to this movement by Dr. William Dubois, having been the moving spirit behind the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses, for he was himself responsible for initiating and leading all the Pan African Congresses between 1919 and 1945.

Past Congresses had to be held outside Africa, for in this continent there were until 1917 only two states in which black people were rulers as well as ruled.

The tone of the demands expressed at these meetings changed over the years, but the demands have been consistent.

The first five congresses could only be held because they were

promoted and attended by concerned individuals. Some of the participants had the backing of trade unions, political or social organisations. But the status of black people in the world was such that the individuals could only be representatives in the sense that a suffering and aware man or woman can always speak for others in the same condition. These men and women acted because they could no longer accept without protest the almost subhuman status which had been assigned to them by the world's dominant political and economic forces.

The Fifth Pan African Congress echoed the experiences of the African masses in the struggle they had been waging against colonialists ever since the second half of the 19th century; their spontaneous rebellions, their first guerilla fighters, their soldiers used as cannon fodder in the imperialist armies, their peasants evicted by foreign settlers; their mining, railroad, dock and agricultural workers, whose strikes had defied the colonial administrations and the capitalist companies, particularly between the two world wars.

The Congress Appeal to colonial people ended with the words: "Colonials and oppressed peoples of the world unite" and advocated joint action by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of colonial territories, using all possible means, including violence, to liquidate the colonial system immediately and completely.

After Manchester, the action of the peoples pushed history along the path of independence and self-determination. There is no doubt that the Fifth Congress constituted a high point in the development of the political leadership of the African liberation movement.

The achievement of the first independence and nationalist activity generalised throughout the continent allowed for the holding of two important Pan African Conferences in 1958: the first Conference of Independent African States, held from 15 to 22 April and the All-African Peoples' Conference, from 5 to 13 December, in Accra, capital of Ghana. Both Conferences were sponsored by the independent Government of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

The All-African Peoples' Conference declared "that the struggle for the liberation of Africa is a task of the Africans themselves" and it called on "the workers, peasants and other sectors of the exploited masses as well as on the intellectuals, to join forces in common action for the final attack against discrimination and racism".

The year 1960 has been called the Year of Africa. Numerous



countries obtained political independence, an unquestionably important step for the liberation movement and African unity. The birth of the Organisation of African Unity in May 1963 was a major factor in the implementation and development of Pan Africanism in that hereafter Pan Africanism became a truly continental movement.

Although the Pan African Movement was originally confined to black people, our particular struggle for dignity has always been one aspect of the world-wide struggle for human liberation. That is why if we react to the continued need to defend our position as black men by regarding ourselves as different from the rest of mankind, we shall weaken ourselves, and the racialists of the world will have scored their biggest triumph.

## **CONTEMPORARY PAN AFRICANISM**

Contemporary Pan Africanism is called upon to develop in a period which is extraordinarily favourable for the progress of the revolutionary forces on our continent and in the world.

We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of a new strategy so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem and, consequently draw up the appropriate tactics.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new states and nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the utopian idea of returning to promised lands because the only promised land is where men are making a revolution and building a new society.

This is the paramount criterion we must continually use in defining both our enemies and our allies.

Thus, the Pan-African movement must essentially be a dynamic force for liberation of the colonised peoples as well as for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses.

It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonised peoples or victims of racialism, but also a fight for political,

economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

The historical context in which this Sixth Pan African Congress is taking place is indeed radically different to that which prevailed in 1945, when the Manchester meeting was held. After the Second World war, a vast and vigorous socialist camp emerged in the world, constituting a powerful force against imperialist claims to world domination.

On the other hand the struggle between imperialist powers weakened the very foundations of the colonial powers. New nations, especially in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, have achieved independence, paving the way for a staunch community as expressed in the non-aligned movement and the OAU and other regional and international organisations.

In certain capitalist countries there are indications that the advanced sections of the white working class have gained in class consciousness and therefore against racism and imperialism which are the common enemies of all people of the world. However, we recognise that in the advanced capitalist countries such as the UK and the USA, the material base of racism distorts class consciousness and sets white workers against black workers. Where advanced class consciousness does *not* exist it is our duty to encourage it and work for a movement of the working masses to defeat monopoly and finance capitalism and the forces of racism, imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

In a word, our Congress is taking place in the period of the upsurge of the national liberation movement and the class struggle at national and international level.

Pan-Africanist movement must consider the most radical methods of putting an end to foreign domination, liquidate the foundations of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and zionism, by the common actions of the peoples of Africa, peoples of African descent and all people of the world.

African development demands that Africa must be free from economic exploitation and political and cultural domination, by capitalist powers, in order to ensure its presence as a factor for the enrichment of mankind. Domination imposed on a people, or foreign occupation of any part of mankind, however small, at the expense of human dignity, has always been a source of world conflict.

Whatever progress is achieved on the African continent will reinstate both Africans and black people in the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe. Just as the progress made by black people in the Americas, the



Caribbean and Europe against the many forms of social and human alienation is an important contribution to the African continent. Our present task is to show unfailing vigilance towards any ideology which, while professing Pan Africanism, conceals the interests of the imperialist powers with a view to making us accept the philosophy of submission to foreign interests on the basis of skin colour.

We must finish once and for all with all obscurantist metaphysics. A movement which claims to be revolutionary cannot adopt the enemy's methods without in the long run serving that same enemy. Pan Africanism was born as a movement of profound rebellion of people opposed to the forces of exploitation, oppression and alienation and racism. And because the exploiting and alienating forces incorporated in their ideology of domination the myth of racial superiority, from the very outset Pan Africanism ran the risk of falling into a racism which was intended to be anti-racist. While Pan Africanism was born as a movement of rebellion, it can only undertake its programme of liberation if it becomes a revolutionary liberation movement of our times. that is, if it analyses and clearly defines its aims, determines its means and engages in consistent action.

Skin colour be it black, white, yellow or brown, is no indication of social class, ideology, nature, behaviour, qualities or abilities of men or peoples. All human races and religions are fraught with contradictory interests. Most important for us must be our common historical destiny as a consequence of having been unjustly treated by exploiting powers. We must therefore define ourselves not in terms of skin colour, which is a static element, but solely in terms of our aims of progress which are dynamic, just and noble.

Revolutionary Pan Africanism inscribes itself within the context of the class struggle. Not to be conscious of this would be to expose ourselves to confusion which imperialism would not fail to exploit.

We must never forget that the imperialism we are fighting, the imperialism which nearly exterminated us in Africa and is still daily committing crimes of genocide here was not generated through the internal historical process which took place in Africa. Imperialism was generated by capitalism and it therefore concerns the entire world. If it is to be effective, the liquidation of imperialism, that is, the liberation of the people, must be general. The universality of imperialism implies the universality of the anti-imperialist struggle.



Our fighting solidarity has been forged in the support for the heroic peoples of Indo-China, struggling against US imperialism; in the support for the Palestinian people and our Arab brothers struggling against Israeli aggression and the annexation of land by force; in the support for the workers and the discriminated minorities in North America, in particular for the struggle of Black People for the destruction of the bourgeois society which oppresses both whites and blacks; in the support for the peoples of the Caribbean and in the first place the brother peoples of Puerto Rico and the French colonies; in the support for the peoples of Latin America, in their struggle against oligarchic reaction and facism, and in the first place for the Chilean people; in the support for the struggling peoples of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

Our fighting solidarity is most needed at this time of the great acceleration of the history of the African continent engaged in the liberation struggle, and from a vantage point from which we can see the effects of the most recent blows that the African Peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism have dealt against imperialism. It is evident that the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, are imposing their independence on the Portuguese colonialists by the force of arms.

We are convinced that revolutionary Pan Africanism will step up its support for the rapid and total liberation of the African continent from the colonialism and racism in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, so-called "French" Somaliland, the Comoro Islands, the Seychelles, Reunion, the so-called "Spanish" Sahara, the Canary Islands.

Our fighting solidarity has invariably manifested itself in our support for the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who defend their inalienable right to the full exercise of their national sovereignty, the effective control over their natural resources, the nationalisation of foreign enterprises to safeguard these resources, and the adoption of the social and economic system they deem most suitable to their development, against pressures, threat, aggression of all kinds by imperialism.

Revolutionary Pan Africanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original and prolific contribution.

This is why the urgent needs at the present time can be outlined as being:

1. To put an end to foreign domination in Africa by destroying the last colonial and racist regimes; because for as long as part of the African continent continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign domination, irresponsibility and indignity, the personality and moral integrity of every man, whether or not of African descent, will be jeopardised.
2. To get rid of neo-colonialism since it hinders the overthrow of the last colonial regimes as well as the achievement of African unity; and is a concrete instrument of imperialist oppression of our peoples.
3. To liquidate foreign military bases in African States and the Caribbean as a contribution to the achievement of the political independence and the total liberation of Africa and the Caribbean.
4. To consolidate the unity between the peoples of Africa and of African descent and all peoples.
5. To appeal to all the progressive forces in Africa and in the world to give political and material aid to the liberation movements in Africa and outside Africa.
6. The strategy of Revolutionary Pan Africanism is basically defined in terms of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist struggle that it considers to be a means of promoting equality, democracy and developing a new society:
  - a) The people must form the basis of this generalised struggle and the aspirations of the masses and the working classes must constitute the moving force behind it.
  - b) It must be defined in terms of the class struggle at the national and international level, as the rational basis for explaining and finding solutions to social injustices, exploitation, oppression and racism.
7. Based on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle, Revolutionary Pan Africanism takes into account the organisational and tactical peculiarities of its various component forces throughout the world, provided the tactics and organisation are subordinate to the ultimate aim, namely the destruction of capitalism and its by-products.
8. In 1974 Pan Africanism aims at the complete restoration by the African peoples of their dignity and responsibility, the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind, and the fullest development of man as well as the building of socialist societies.

9. Pan Africanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or chauvinist considerations, it embraces the cause of all oppressed peoples of the world and is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world.

It considers the people as the foundation of everything, the only legitimate and legal source of power, of all powers and power in its entirety.

In order to transform itself to meet the new requirements of the present international situation, Pan Africanism must define its programme of action within the context of the broad perspectives of progress of the masses of the people of all the countries in the world advancing towards a new world, without consideration of skin colour or nationality, a world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality over inequality, of the responsibility and sovereign power of the peoples over the dictatorship of exploiting minorities, in other words, the world of the redemption of Africa and of all people.





# Letter to the Editor

I wish to bring to the notice of the progressive forces in Africa some eventful changes which have recently taken place in my country. These changes are of interest to progressive forces throughout the world.

Recent events in the Philippines have opened up new possibilities and perspectives for the Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP) and other revolutionary and democratic forces. In October 1974 negotiations were conducted by the leaders of the PKP and the government on the *legalisation* of the Party and the possibilities of co-operating in bringing about radical socio-economic transformations in the interests of the toiling masses.

Over the past year the Marcos administration has made a number of significant moves. Firstly, the government has recognised the importance of developing political, economic and cultural ties with the Socialist countries. Secondly, the new Land Reform programme contains the real possibilities of destroying semi-feudal production relations in the countryside and thereby laying the basis for the radical transformation of the countryside. Marcos knows that the PKP enjoys tremendous support amongst the peasantry and that no fundamental transformation can occur without the support of the PKP. Thirdly, we

have the industrialisation programme – closely linked to the land reform programme launched by the government.

The PKP positively estimated these important changes. For the communists the envisaged land reform has a progressive (in the bourgeois sense) character. It will help to oust the semi-feudal system in the rural areas and thereby also weaken the political power exercised by the landlords. The industrialisation programme which envisages the establishment of labour-intensive industries will help to solve some urgent problems in the urban areas. It will no doubt lead to the expansion of the industrial proletariat which naturally will possess a higher level of knowledge and skills, and therefore, a higher susceptibility to organised action.

Thus, the PKP positively estimating some of the government policies and realising the opportunities for broadening its contact with the toiling masses after more than *40 years* of illegality, welcomed the initiatives of the government and entered into negotiations. The PKP agreed to co-operate in the implementation of the socio-economic reforms which will benefit the working people. Our Party also undertook to desist from armed struggle and to engage in open peaceful forms of struggle. It needs to be emphasised that we do not and will not shun other forms of struggle should the conditions and the need for them arise.

In its turn the Marcos government has legalised the PKP and agreed to release all our members who are still languishing in prison.

The PKP and the toiling masses which it leads, of course, have class differences with the ruling class. We know that these antagonistic class differences and contradictions will assert themselves ever more strongly in the days to come. But these do not exclude the possibility of co-operation between the PKP and the government in resolving some national problems.

The PKP stands firmly on the question of compromises. For us the basis of the compromise must only be that which serves the interests of the working people and that which furthers the development of the real people's democratic revolution.

May I, on behalf of our people, express our firm solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa in their just struggle against racism and fascism, for national liberation, democracy and peace.

Samuel Jacinto

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